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TERROR COMES TO LONDON
The Editors
D.D.Guttenplan &
Maria Margaronis

THE RIGHTS OF THE PRESS
Victor Navasky

ROVE OUTS PLAME
David Corn

A PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL
Richard Falk

WHAT ARE WE DOING IN IRAQ?
David Rieff

SWEENEY STERN HOFFA COHEN McENTEE & WILHELM

DEBATING LABOR'S FUTURE

A FORUM EDITED BY JANICE FINE

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LETTERS

R.O. BLECHMAN

A POX ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES

Woburn, Mass.

■ David Moberg's July 11 "Labor Splits Open" misses the political irony in the clash between AFL-CIO leaders hailed ten years ago as "reformers" and some of their ex-supporters, like Andy Stern and Anna Burger of the Service Employees International Union. Among the reforms now favored by the SEIU-backed Change to Win Coalition is scaling back what Teamster president James Hoffa recently called the "bloated bureaucracy" of the AFL-CIO.

Where did this pox on the labor movement come from? Well, in 1995 SEIUers—including Burger and Stern—helped their president, John Sweeney, become head of the AFL-CIO. At great cost to the federation's treasury and pension plan, Sweeney then proceeded to "staff up" at headquarters and in the field—utilizing the organizational model he had previously employed at SEIU.

Sweeney brought with him a brain trust of top aides from SEIU—including PR adviser Denise Mitchell, lawyer Jon Hiatt and staffers like Bob Welch, Gerry Shea, Karen Nussbaum and Nancy Mills. Three of the four AFL-CIO organizing directors named by Sweeney have also come from SEIU (the fourth was an alumnus of UNITE HERE). Under Sweeney a new, centralized AFL-CIO organizing fund was created that returned millions of per capita dues dollars to affiliates for membership recruitment. The main recipients of these grants were SEIU, UNITE HERE and the Laborers (all part of the anti-Sweeney coalition today).

Now we are told that the process of "changing to organize" described above—widely hailed at the time (by Moberg and others) as innovative and exciting—has not succeeded. "Changing to win" today requires adopting a new program—developed by some of the same people who brought Sweeney's New Voice slate to power and who, as a result, have wielded great influence in the federation over the past ten years.

Their current critique of New Voice failings might have more credibility if there was some acknowledgment of personal and organizational responsibility for creating the status quo at the AFL-CIO that is now so unacceptable as to require "a major breakup." STEVE EARLY

Communications Workers of America

BEING HONEST ABOUT ABE

Washington, DC

■ Since the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and '60s, some historians have wistfully speculated that shortly before his assassination Abraham Lincoln adopted the ideal of a color-blind, multiracial America. In his review of my book *What Lincoln Believed*, James McPherson denounces me for not treating such speculation as established fact ["Twist and Shout," June 13]. With equally intemperate rhetoric he has made the same criticism of recent books on Lincoln by William Harris (*The Nation*, June 14, 2004) and Lerone Bennett (*New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 2000).

Nothing would please me more than to be able honestly to argue that Lincoln would have "evolved" into a color-blind liberal in a few more years, if he had not done so by his death. But the burden of proof lies with proponents of this novel and dubious thesis, not with skeptics. Instead of being based on new evidence, this hypothesis is based entirely on strained reinterpretations of a few long-familiar facts, such as Lincoln's praise of black soldiers and his support for the discretion of states (as opposed to a federal requirement) to grant limited (not universal) suffrage for black military veterans and "the very intelligent" blacks (a revealing remark—how were "very intelligent" blacks to be distinguished, if not by the segregationist "literacy test"?). Can McPherson, an able historian, really believe that President Lincoln, if he had lived, would have proposed federally enforced equal suffrage for blacks, North and South; supported integrated classrooms and not just public schools for blacks apart from whites; favored the repeal of laws against interracial marriage; and sought to overturn the whites-only immigration policy he had endorsed in the past?

If Lincoln really did adopt a belief in complete social and political equality for nonwhite Americans before his death, it is curious that his conversion to the radical wing of the Republican Party went unnoticed by John Hay and John Nicolay, his White House aides and official biographers, as well as by every major Lincoln scholar until the late twentieth century, when this interpretation was devised by historians who seek to minimize the embarrassing distance between Lincoln's racial views and our own. As much as I admire Lincoln, I am unwilling to rewrite history in the service of hero worship. MICHAEL LIND

McPHERSON REPLIES

Princeton, NJ

■ Michael Lind's letter focuses entirely on the last 300 words of my 2,000-word review. He offers no comment on the rest of the review, which took him to task for numerous errors and distortions. And the distortions continue in his letter. Nowhere did I speculate that Lincoln had "adopted the ideal of a color-blind, multiracial America" before his death or that he would have evolved into "a color-blind liberal" in a few more years. Nor did I suggest that Lincoln would have supported integrated classrooms or the repeal of laws against interracial marriage. I stated simply that in the last year of the war Lincoln expressed a preference that the right to vote be granted to literate freedmen and black Union Army veterans in the reconstructed South.

It is true that he wanted the states themselves to enact this policy rather than for the federal government to mandate it. Likewise, in 1862 he had wanted the states to take the initiative in a program of partial and gradual abolition of slavery, but in 1863 he issued an Emancipation Proclamation and in 1864 he pushed for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery immediately and everywhere. It is scarcely unreasonable to speculate that he might have followed a similar trajectory on Reconstruction. Almost every Republican representative and senator—a good many of them with more conservative racial attitudes than Lincoln—voted for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which mandated equal civil and political rights for all men regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." I know of no serious scholar who thinks Lincoln would have broken with his party to oppose these amendments if he had lived through his second term. JAMES M. McPHERSON

HILLARY: NO ONE IS NEUTRAL

Greg Sargent's June 6 "Brand Hillary" cover story proved (if proof is needed) that Hillary Clinton is a lightning rod. Readers in droves wrote us to call her a "class act," a "professional phony," a "slick politician," a "very interesting woman," a "chameleon," a "manipulator," a "shameless opportunist" with "great potential" and "a winner!" Sargent's article was called "thoughtful," "a very large crock," "well-rounded," a "one-sided load of baloney" and "a sell-out." A sampling follows.

—The Editors

New York City

■ I want to commend Greg Sargent for his outstanding article on Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton. It was the best-written and most balanced article I have read about Hillary in years. Hillary is an outstanding senator, and we all know she will win re-election in New York by a landslide. ORLANDO GOBER

Acton, Mass.

■ Yeah, Newt Gingrich is in sympathy with Hillary on *anything*, and "Republicans have decided they like the real Hillary." Thank goodness! Now I'm positive I can lose ten pounds in time for my daughter's wedding tomorrow. When will Democrats wake the freak up and realize

(Continued on Page 30)

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IN THIS ISSUE

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 TERROR COMES TO LONDON

4 AFTER THE BOMBS
D.D. Guttenplan & Maria Margaronis

5 ANATOMY OF ROVE'S LEAK
David Corn

6 SUPREME COURT WATCH
Bruce Shapiro

8 THE WORLD SPEAKS ON IRAQ
Richard Falk

10 IN FACT…

COLUMNS

6 DEADLINE POET
Odd Turn in the Criminal Justice System
Calvin Trillin

12 BEAT THE DEVIL
Don't You Dare Call It Treason
Alexander Cockburn

13 SUBJECT TO DEBATE
Should *Roe* Go?
Katha Pollitt

14 LOOKOUT
Aristide in Exile
Naomi Klein

ARTICLES

15 DEBATING LABOR'S FUTURE
A forum with John Sweeney, Andy Stern, James Hoffa, Larry Cohen, Gerald McEntee and John Wilhelm
Edited by Janice Fine

24 THE RIGHTS OF JOURNALISTS
Protecting reporters' sources *and* the public's need to know.
Victor Navasky

26 LETTER FROM ECUADOR
The High Cost of Oil
Daphne Eviatar

BOOKS & THE ARTS

31 DIAMOND: Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq
PHILLIPS: Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco
David Rieff

36 AS I LAY READING
J.M. Tyree

40 HATZFELD: Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak
Fatin Abbas

41 FILMS
War of the Worlds
Dark Water
Land of the Dead
Stuart Klawans

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/ Avenging Angels; illustrations by R.O. Blechman and Emily Flake

EDITORIALS

Terror Comes to London

The London bombings, which killed more than fifty people and wounded more than 700, were despicable acts that, like those in Madrid, Bali, the United States and elsewhere, have rightly been condemned by all decent people. But British Prime Minister Tony Blair's claim that the chief motivation of the terrorists was "a desire to impose extremism on the world" rang as hollow as George W. Bush's claim after the September 11 attacks that Islamic terrorists "hate our freedoms."

The rationale for the London attacks appeared plain enough, whoever bore direct responsibility. A previously unknown group calling itself The Secret Organization of Al Qaeda in Europe claimed that the bombings—which officials in London said had been carried out by British-born Muslims—were "in retaliation for the massacres that Britain is committing in Iraq and Afghanistan" and a punishment for Britain's support for Israel.

Viewed in this context, the bombings are another tragic reminder that Bush's invasion of Iraq was an ill-conceived and counterproductive response to 9/11. Instead of helping to win the "war on terror"—a dubious concept—the invasion has become a source of increased Arab anger and Iraq has turned into a training ground for new terrorists, some of them likely drawn from the more than 20 million Muslims who call Europe home. (A classified CIA report completed in May concluded that Iraq might prove more effective than Afghanistan in preparing recruits for acts of urban terror because it provides real-world experience.)

Most Europeans never believed Bush's lies about a link between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda and from the start wanted their governments to have nothing to do with Washington's Iraq invasion. Belatedly, Americans, already disabused of the notion that Saddam had weapons of mass destruction, are beginning to understand the full extent of their government's folly. For the first time since the US invasion, a plurality of Americans see Iraq as distinct from the "war on terrorism," according to a *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup poll released just days before the London attacks. The same poll found that 53 percent now think the invasion was a mistake, and a plurality believe the war in Iraq has made the United States less safe from terrorism. They have good reason for that belief: According to RAND, the 5,362 deaths from terrorism worldwide between March 2004 and March 2005 were almost double the total for the same twelve-month period before the invasion, in 2003.

In the short term, Bush may be able to capitalize on the London attacks, to push through an extension of the Patriot Act, for example. But the attacks are also an occasion for critics of the war to raise anew questions about Bush's real motivations in Iraq and to make the case for withdrawal.

Such a withdrawal, however, would be only a start toward correcting misguided policies. The London bombings should not be the beginning of a new phase of militarization against Islamic jihadism but of a new transatlantic partnership that works toward peace between Israelis and Palestinians, more economic opportunities for Muslims both in Europe and elsewhere, and an end to Western support of dictatorships in the Arab world. Unless and until we do these things, Michael Scheuer, who headed the CIA's Osama bin Laden unit for nine years, told the Associated Press, bin Laden will "make us bleed enough to get our attention."

That is the sobering lesson of London.

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COMMENT

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After the Bombs

London

On July 7 the war came home to Britain. For those of us lucky enough not to be in central London when the bombs went off, the horror has taken a while to bloom. Rescue workers clambering over pieces of the dead in the tunnels under King's Cross; the tremulous present tense in the descriptions of the missing; our queasy fascination with eyewitness accounts filling the papers—these things uncover a darkness we are adept at denying.

In the immediate aftermath of the bombings, life seemed to return to normal with defiant and comforting speed. The Jubilee Line at 8:50 on Friday morning—exactly twenty-four hours after the first bomb went off underground—was jammed with commuters. We were all probably a little jumpy, but the carriage was too crowded, with too many different kinds of people, to carry out any kind of risk assessment. The buses on Oxford Street were also back on schedule, though the signs advertising summer sales beckoned to eerily empty streets. E-mails from friends in the States seemed to assume that this was London's September 11, with similarly traumatic effects. It didn't feel like that. These attacks didn't come out of the blue; after the events of the past four years, there is no blue for them to come from anymore. No one here was asking "Why us?"

Now, however, the question prompted by the revelation that the explosions were the work of British-born suicide bombers is: "Why them?" We knew something like this was going to happen, but most of us assumed that when it did the culprits—like the attackers in Manhattan and Madrid—would be foreigners. Like an aftershock, the news that the attackers were homegrown, cricket-loving Muslim lads from Leeds may yet do more damage than the initial attacks.

For the past two years this country has been torn apart by the war in Iraq and the deep distrust engendered by Prime Minister Tony Blair's deceptions. When the bombs went off, those wounds had barely been papered over by the prospect of our leaders trying to do the right thing in Africa; by the feel-good substitute for politics that was Live 8; by London's surprise win over Paris in the Olympics bid. Now, the fissures exposed in British society suddenly seem much deeper, much more jagged, than we dared to think.

For the first few days the bombs pulled Britain together. As London's Mayor, Ken Livingstone, put it, "This was not a terrorist attack against the mighty and the powerful.... It was aimed at ordinary, working-class Londoners, black and white, Muslim and Christian, Hindu and Jew, young and old." Against the poisonous rhetoric blowing across the Atlantic, many here have been working to strengthen the links between communities, knowing that's the best defense against terrorists and racists alike. The government understands this too. After the attacks Blair tried immediately to reassure Britain's 1.6 million Muslims, though he undermined his good intentions with an unfortunate choice of pronoun: "The vast and overwhelming majority of Muslims...abhor this act of terrorism every bit as much as we do."

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COMMENT

At first even the tabloids got with the program. A young Bengali woman, Shahara Akther Islam, missing since Thursday, quickly became London's heartbreaking poster girl. On the BBC news her white-bearded grandfather, unable to speak, curved his arms tenderly around the empty air to show how he used to hold her. But even before the bombers had been identified, there were attacks on Muslims and Asian businesses; the Muslim Council of Britain received 30,000 hate e-mails in the early period after the bombings. Afterward the *Daily Telegraph* had had enough of diversity, thundering, "There can be no 'communities'—plural—when Britain is attacked, only a nation." Both the *Telegraph* and the *Sun* called for Muslim scholar Tariq Ramadan, due to speak in London at the invitation of the metropolitan police, to be barred from entering the country.

The aftershock has also made it even more difficult to talk about Iraq without appearing to excuse or explain away the murders, though the war was opposed by most Londoners and indeed, vociferously, by Livingstone. But until Blair acknowledges the part his invasion played in the attack on London, no multicultural rhetoric, no tea parties with imams, nothing his government does will heal the rifts opened in Britain by the "war on terror," let alone begin to end it. Tony Blair and José Maria Aznar were head boys in Bush's coalition of the willing; now all three countries share a common grief. Even those who refuse to connect the suffering of London's civilians with the agony of Baghdad must see that Iraq has been a gift, ideologically and practically, to the old men who prime young men to blow themselves up.

The worst possible—and yet most likely—outcome of the London bombings would be further isolation of Europe's Muslim communities, producing more everyday misery, more fertile ground for fantasies of Islamic caliphates, more racism and more repressive security legislation.

But the shock may also be salutary. Most Muslims have always refused the false dichotomies of the "war on terror," privately opposing both the extremism flickering in their communities and the foreign policies that feed its flames. More are beginning to speak out. Dilpazier Aslam, a trainee at the *Guardian*, described his generation's resentment of their elders' "don't rock the boat" immigrant mentality and disengagement from politics. Ending that disenfranchisement is a job for all of us.

Mourning hasn't even really begun here. As we write, they are still bringing the dead up from beneath King's Cross; most of them have not yet been identified. For the families of the dead and maimed, there will be no going back. And for the rest? Last week Londoners felt like victims—or targets. This week we are reeling at the tasks ahead. Before London's scars can truly heal, we will have to acknowledge, and mourn, the infinitely larger wound inflicted on Iraq, and the old wounds still festering inside our own society.

D.D. Guttenplan and Maria Margaronis

D.D. Guttenplan and Maria Margaronis write from The Nation*'s London bureau.*

Anatomy of Rove's Leak

Two years ago, after reading a Bob Novak column, I called former Ambassador Joseph Wilson and asked, half-jokingly, "Why didn't you tell me your wife was in the CIA?" In a somber voice, Wilson said, "I can't tell you that now." When I first read that Novak column outing Valerie Wilson (*a k a* Valerie Plame) as a CIA officer and citing "two senior administration officials," I didn't immediately comprehend the leak's seriousness. But as I spoke with Wilson, I could see the potential harm. And I realized the leak was no accident. At the time, the White House and its allies were mounting a fierce campaign against Wilson, who had revealed in a *New York Times* op-ed that on a 2002 CIA-sponsored trip to Niger he had gathered information undermining one of George W. Bush's justifications for the Iraq War: that Iraq had been shopping for uranium in Africa. And as we discussed the Novak leak—that is, talked around it—it occurred to me that the leakers might have violated an obscure law that prohibits government officials (not journalists) from knowingly disclosing the identity of an intelligence officer. I mentioned this to Wilson; he was unfamiliar with the law. I said I might write about the leak and this law. He didn't encourage me. He was hoping that somehow this story might blow over and was not eager to draw more attention to it. He was in partial (though understandable) denial. Two days later I posted a piece that first raised the question of whether this leak was evidence that White House officials had committed a crime.

Initially few in the mainstream media cared about the leak. But liberal bloggers and other Internet denizens howled. A handful of Democratic Congress members complained. Two months later, the news broke that the CIA had asked the Justice Department to investigate the leak, and there was a flurry of media coverage. Then the story receded, as the investigation generated little news (i.e., few leaks). But through the early stages, the White House claimed Bush wanted to get to "the bottom of it"; that leakers would be punished; and that Karl Rove, Lewis "Scooter" Libby and Elliott Abrams—three White House officials linked to the leak by Washington's rumor mill—had not been involved. Next the case came to be dominated by special prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald's zealous pursuit of reporters—particularly *Time*'s Matt Cooper and the *New York Times*'s Judith Miller. But now that the Cooper and Miller cases have been resolved—with Miller imprisoned—and evidence implicating Rove has emerged, the focus has returned to the original sin: the leak itself.

Because of Fitzgerald's (appropriate or inappropriate) hounding of Cooper—which led to *Time*'s surrendering Cooper's e-mail and notes—*Newsweek*'s Michael Isikoff was able to obtain a damning e-mail that Cooper wrote three days before Novak's column appeared. That e-mail noted that Cooper had spoken to Rove on "double super secret background" and that Rove had told him that Wilson's "wife…apparently works at the agency on wmd issues." This was the first documentary evidence that Rove had been involved in the leak. His lawyer's immediate spin was that Rove had not mentioned Valerie Wilson/Plame by name. (This was a thin defense; a Google search would have yielded her

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COMMENT

name.) The White House stonewalled, absurdly refusing to answer any questions about Rove or its previous statements on Rove and the leak. Angry White House reporters accused the White House of having misled the public.

It has taken a while, but the leak has finally led to a flood of trouble, and Bush's most important aide is in peril. Rove might escape legal jeopardy, given how the relevant law is written. But if that famous e-mail contradicts what he told Fitzgerald's grand jury, he should fear a perjury charge. The issue, though, is not only whether Rove engaged in criminal behavior. It's also what the White House will do about Rove—and others involved in the leak. (Novak did say he had two sources.) The Cooper e-mail proves that Rove leaked national security information to undermine a critic. (And if Rove didn't know Valerie Wilson was under cover, he leaked without checking, which means he handled secret information recklessly.) By the White House's earlier statements, Rove engaged in wrongdoing that warrants dismissal—regardless of how Fitzgerald's investigation ends. And if Bush was sincere when he called for the leakers to "come forward and speak out," shouldn't he order Rove to tell us all he knows? But Team Bush has hunkered down, ignoring press inquiries, deriding Democratic criticism as baseless partisan attacks and hoping this storm will pass. It is refusing to acknowledge the reality revealed by that e-mail. But the White House—at least, Rove—has always known what happened. Bush needed no special prosecutor to "get to the bottom" of this. He only had to ask his own people to tell him the truth. That is, if he didn't already know. DAVID CORN

For updates, read "Capital Games" at www.thenation.com

Supreme Court Watch

Will George W. Bush nominate a conservative or a moderate to replace Justice Sandra Day O'Connor? Will he name his friend Attorney General Alberto Gonzales? Will he move with dispatch, or draw out his deliberations in order to shorten the window available for a contentious nomination? Instead of holding our collective breath, we should use this pause between O'Connor's resignation and Bush's nomination of a successor to pose one eminently answerable question in a different direction entirely: to Senate Democrats. Will the future of the Supreme Court inspire greater unity than the war on Iraq, greater energy than tax cuts for the wealthy, more nerve than the recent compromise over lower-court filibusters? How those Democratic senators—most of whom have never faced a Supreme Court nomination—reply may well define their careers.

The legal consequences of replacing O'Connor with a more rigid ideologue are easy enough to predict. A New Hampshire abortion-rights case concerning parental notification is on the docket for the fall, and cases on campaign finance, the environment, criminal justice—all areas in which O'Connor in recent years demonstrated flexibility and pragmatism, and all critical to Democratic constituencies and interests—are not far behind.

This already commenced confirmation battle is not only about an as-yet-unknown O'Connor replacement but also about setting the terms and atmosphere for inevitable Bush nominations to come. (As of this writing, Chief Justice William Rehnquist, suffering from thyroid cancer, is again in the hospital.) And how this plays out may well shape the entire Supreme Court's understanding of the country's social consensus.

Conventional wisdom holds that the Supreme Court is above politics. But when three Reagan/Bush nominees—O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy and David Souter—completed the unfinished reproductive-rights revolution with *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* in 1992, they made it clear that political consensus was precisely the point. In their plurality opinion, O'Connor, Kennedy and Souter warned of "profound and unnecessary damage to the Court's legitimacy" should abortion rights be abolished. When they wrote that "the ability of women to participate equally in the economic and social life of the Nation has been facilitated by their ability to control their reproductive lives," they were not just enhancing the legitimacy of *Roe v. Wade* but reflecting a generation of Congressional debate over women's rights—debate that included the galvanizing argument over sexual harassment surrounding the Clarence Thomas hearings before an all-male Judiciary Committee.

This is why the unity of Democratic, civil rights and public-interest constituencies in the coming weeks is so crucial. Senators and grassroots activists need to remember how the first President Bush effectively divided civil rights groups with the Thomas nomination. The NAACP and some influential African-American leaders, seduced by Thomas's exaggerated rags-to-robes biography and reluctant to oppose a black nominee, initially closed their eyes to the consistency and ideological extremity of Thomas's writings, allegiances and decisions, as well as to evidence of personal misrepresentations and ethical lapses. This time there can be no sentimental presumption that once a nominee is on the Court, ethnic identity or gender will trump a well-established track record on the far right.

What does this mean for any individual Democratic senator? Senators might reflect on whether Joseph Lieberman would ever have been nominated for Vice President if in 1991 he had followed through on his inclination to vote in favor of Clarence Thomas despite Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment,

CALVIN TRILLIN

AN ODD TURN IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

So Judy Miller's in the joint,
A four-month sentence to complete.
The prosecutor made his point,
And yet Karl Rove's still on the street.

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CHRONIC PAIN AND OPIOIDS

Debunking the Myths: Part 1

What is chronic pain?
Chronic pain is a progressive disease of the nervous system, caused by failure of the body's internal pain control systems. The disease is accompanied by changes in the chemical and anatomical makeup of the spinal cord. Chronic pain is a malignancy, in the sense that when it goes untreated, it increases in intensity and spreads to areas that weren't previously affected, damaging the sufferer's health and functioning.

Why treat chronic pain with opioids?
Opioids are substances naturally produced within the body to regulate pain. They are commonly known as endorphins, and recognized as producing the state of euphoria known as the runner's high. Chronic pain victims, who can't produce enough opioids on their own, often benefit from supplementation with pharmaceutical opioids.

What are the goals of treatment?
1. Lowering of pain levels.
2. Reducing suffering through restoration of functioning in life activities, as close to normal as possible.
3. Arresting and reversing the damage done by chronic pain to the nervous system and overall health of the patient.

Are opioids dangerous?
When taken as prescribed by your doctor, opioids are among the safest drugs available.

What about those "Oxycontin deaths" reported in the media?
Oxycontin, like other opioids, is safe for patients who take their medicine as prescribed. "Oxycontin deaths" occur in habitual substance abusers, not patients, and are usually the result of combining the drug with overdoses of alcohol and other drugs. These are deaths associated with Oxycontin, not caused by it, and they are not occurring in patients.

Will I have to take opioids for the rest of my life?
Opioids can be discontinued whenever they are no longer needed. Patients may recover from chronic pain, and return to active lives.

Will I get addicted, and how can I tell if I am?
Addiction is defined by the American Society of Addiction Medicine as continued use in spite of harm. Scientific research indicates that opioid addiction in pain patients is rare. If opioids make your life better by controlling pain, you are a pain patient. If they make your life worse, and you continue to use them, you may be an addict.

Will I have to take larger and larger doses to control my pain?
For most patients, their dose remains stable over long periods of time.

(continued in Part 2)

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Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
www.AddictInTheFamily.org
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COMMENT

instead of wisely attending to women on his staff and in his family who warned him of the cost.

Democrats also need to understand how deeply the Terry Schiavo case alienated mainstream America from the religious right—and the deep rift over the Court within the Bush coalition of social conservatives and corporate interests.

Where do the Democrats stand as President Bush makes his choice? Senate minority leader Harry Reid and Judiciary chairman Patrick Leahy called on Bush with suggestions of "consensus" nominees. That's an unlikely prospect from this most consistent of Presidents. In the recent filibuster battle over lower-court nominees, seven Democrats chose the pragmatic preservation of their senatorial prerogatives over pushing the Priscilla Owen and Janice Rogers Brown nominations to a test. But in the matter of a replacement for O'Connor, the stakes are higher than with any Supreme Court nomination in history. To Democrats in the Senate—including risk-averse presidential aspirants like Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton, John Kerry and Evan Bayh—here is the message: This will be a legacy vote. BRUCE SHAPIRO

Bruce Shapiro was director of The Nation Institute's Supreme Court Watch during the nominations of Justices Thomas, Breyer and Ginsburg. His most recent book is Shaking the Foundations: 200 Years of Investigative Journalism in America.

The World Speaks on Iraq

Istanbul

The World Tribunal on Iraq (WTI) held its culminating session in Istanbul June 24–27, the last and most elaborate of sixteen condemnations of the Iraq War held worldwide in the past two years, in Barcelona, Tokyo, Brussels, Seoul, New York, London, Mumbai and other cities. The Istanbul session used the verdicts and some of the testimony from the earlier sessions; the cumulative nature of the sessions built interest among peace activists, resulting in this final session having by far the strongest international flavor. The cumulative process, described by organizers as "the tribunal movement," is unique in history: Never before has a war aroused this level of protest on a global scale—first to prevent it (the huge February 15, 2003, demonstrations in eighty countries) and then to condemn its inception and conduct. The WTI expresses the opposition of global civil society to the Iraq War, a project perhaps best described as a form of "moral globalization."

The WTI generated intense interest in Turkey, Europe, the Arab world and on the Internet but was ignored by the American mainstream media. Here in Istanbul, the WTI was treated for days as the number-one news story. There are several explanations for this, starting with near-unanimous opposition to the Iraq War in Turkey. More relevant were the vivid connections between Turkey and the war: physical proximity, an array of adverse effects and, more dramatic, a contradictory government posture—the refusal of the Turkish parliament in 2003 to give in to US pressure to authorize an invasion of Iraq from Turkish territory, while the Prime Minister allowed the continuing use of the huge US air base at Incirlik for strategic operations during and after the war.

The WTI was loosely inspired by the Bertrand Russell tribunal held in Copenhagen and Stockholm in 1967 to protest the Vietnam War, which documented with extensive testimony the allegations of criminality associated with the American role in Vietnam. The Russell tribunal featured the participation of Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and other notable European left intellectuals. It relied on international law and morality to condemn the war but made no pretension of being a legal body, and its jury contained no international law experts.

Of course, a tribunal of this sort is immediately criticized on one hand as a kangaroo court that ignores the other sides of the legal and political argument and, on the other, is treated as a meaningless use of a courtroom format since there is neither an adversary process nor enforcement powers. In my view, these criticisms reveal a misunderstanding of the undertaking. To be sure, the WTI is not an organ of the state and cannot count on its judgments being implemented by such state institutions as police or prisons. Rather, the WTI is self-consciously an organ of civil society, with its own potential enforcement by way of economic boycotts, civil disobedience and political campaigns. And on the substantive issues of legality, it is designed to *confirm* the truth of the widely held allegations about the Iraq War, not to *discover* the truth by way of political, legal and moral inquiry and debate. It proceeds from a presumption that the allegations of illegality and criminality are valid and that its job is to reinforce that conclusion as persuasively and vividly as possible.

The motivations of citizens to organize such a tribunal do not arise from uncertainty about issues of legality and morality but from a conviction that the institutions of the state, including the UN, have failed to act to protect a vulnerable people against such Nuremberg crimes as aggression, violations of the laws of war and crimes against humanity. It is only because of such institutional failures in the face of ongoing suffering and abuse in Iraq that individuals and institutions made the immense organizational effort to put together this kind of transnational civic tribunal. We should also recall that the Nuremberg Tribunal's enduring contribution was not finding out whether the Nazi regime had committed the crimes alleged but documenting its criminality.

The decision of the WTI was rendered by a fifteen-member Jury of Conscience, chaired by Indian novelist Arundhati Roy and including two Americans, David Krieger, president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, and Eve Ensler of *Vagina Monologues* fame. A Panel of Advocates—coordinated by Turgut Tarhanli, dean of the Bilgi Law School in Istanbul, and myself—organized the fifty-four presentations. The advocates came from diverse backgrounds, and the presentations included some incisive analyses of international-law issues by such respected world experts as Christine Chinkin of the London School of Economics; two former UN assistant secretaries general, Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponek, both of whom had resigned in the 1990s to protest the UN's role in Iraq; several seemingly credible eyewitnesses who had held important nongovernment jobs in pre-invasion Iraq, who gave accounts of the devastation and cruelty of the occupation; Tim Goodrich, a former American soldier and co-founder of Iraq Veterans Against the War, who gave a moving presentation of why he turned against the war; and overall assess-

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CHRONIC PAIN AND OPIOIDS

Debunking the Myths: Part 2

(continued from Part 1)

Will I get high, or lose control?
When opioids are taken on a regular schedule, tolerance quickly develops, and the psychological "high" goes away, leaving the user feeling completely normal. Long-term opioid users, as a group, have driving records for accidents and violations that are the same as everyone else's.

Will I hurt myself because I don't feel any pain?
No. Opioids improve functioning by reducing pain levels. They don't remove all the pain, or the ability to perceive new pain.

Will I become dependent?
You may. Dependence means that if opioids are abruptly discontinued you will have a physical withdrawal reaction, similar to having the flu. This reaction can be prevented by gradually tapering off the medication. Dependence is a physical phenomenon, not a sign of addiction.

What if I had a previous substance abuse problem?
This should not prevent a trial of opioids. Studies at Harvard Medical School and the University of Washington indicate that a past history of substance abuse has little or no predictive value for failure of opioid treatment. If you have current behavioral or substance abuse problems, you may appear to have trouble with opioid treatment.

Are there any side effects?
Constipation, nausea, itching, insomnia, and drowsiness commonly occur. All of these side effects can be successfully managed.

Will the medicine damage my liver?
No. Opioids occur naturally in the body, and are not harmful to any organ system. They can be taken safely for a lifetime, if necessary. Anti-inflammatory nonopioid medication, on the other hand, kill 16,500 patients each year through bleeding from the stomach, and are toxic to the liver and kidneys.

What is the correct dose?
The amount that allows optimal functioning is the correct dose. There is no upper limit to the dose of opioids that can be safely used, when the medicine is increased gradually.

Why won't my doctor prescribe enough medicine to control my pain?
He is too scared. As part of the War on Drugs, law enforcement is conducting a witch-hunt against pain doctors who prescribe opioids compassionately. Most physicians won't risk being targeted by law enforcement, because they have families to support. As a result, chronic pain sufferers have become non-combatant casualties in the war on drugs.

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ments of how the war fits into American ambitions for global empire, by such renowned intellectuals as Samir Amin, Johan Galtung and Walden Bello. Their presentations combined an acute explanation of the strains on world order arising from predatory forms of economic globalization with the view that the US response to 9/11 was mainly motivated by regional and global strategic aims and only incidentally, if at all, by antiterrorism.

After compromise and debate, the jury reached a unanimous verdict that combined findings with recommendations for action. Its core conclusion condemned the Iraq War as a war of aggression in violation of the UN Charter and international law, and determined that those responsible for planning and waging it should be held criminally responsible. George W. Bush, Tony Blair, Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and Paul Wolfowitz were listed in the verdict by name. Less predictable was that the UN was faulted for failing to fulfill its responsibilities to protect member states against aggression. One recommendation supported the rights of the Iraqi people to resist an illegal occupation, as authorized by international law. Further recommendations specified that US media be held responsible for contributing to the war of aggression, that American products associated with corporations doing business in Iraq—like Halliburton, Coca-Cola, Bechtel and Boeing—be boycotted and that peace movement activists around the world urge the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Iraq. The verdict was framed as a moral and political assessment of the Iraq War, and relied on the guidelines of international law to lend weight to its conclusions. The jury's view of international law accords with a virtually unanimous consensus of international-law experts outside the United States and Britain.

Arundhati Roy imparted the prevailing spirit of civic dedication and moral leadership in a public statement at the culminating session. Her words summarize the experience for many of us: "The World Tribunal on Iraq places its faith in the consciences of millions of people across the world who do not wish to stand by and watch while the people of Iraq are being slaughtered, subjugated and humiliated." RICHARD FALK

Richard Falk is visiting professor of global studies at UC Santa Barbara.

In Fact . . .

DEPLETED URANIUM TOLL IN IRAQ

■ John S. Friedman writes: A group of soldiers who served in Iraq plan to file a lawsuit within a month in Federal District Court against the Army for violating its regulations by not offering safeguards against exposure to depleted uranium, used in tank armor and artillery, and for not providing adequate medical treatment. Although DU has been linked to Gulf War syndrome, and scientists are concerned about civilian exposure to it during the 1999 war in Kosovo, the Pentagon continues to deny that DU inhalation has harmful health effects. After being misdiagnosed by the Army, the nine soldier plaintiffs, from New York National Guard units, who suffer from a variety of health problems, were tested by a private laboratory, which in most cases found DU traces in their bodies. A child of Gerard Matthew, conceived after the father returned from Iraq, was born with a deformed hand and missing fingers. Matthew, a member of a transport unit from Harlem, blames his exposure to DU-laden dust. Asked about the soldiers' symptoms, an Army spokesperson said, "These concerns are not likely attributed to exposure to depleted uranium." The Army's environmental tests of selected sites did not detect any DU. Dr. Asaf Durakovic, who supervised the soldiers' private DU testing and sent his own team to measure sites in Iraq, called those results "hogwash." In June Louisiana became the first state to require that vets be tested for DU.

LOCAL OPTION

■ John Nichols writes: One reason the House recently voted 238 to 187 to block the Justice Department and the FBI from using the Patriot Act as an excuse to review library records and bookstore sales slips was the fact that so many members of Congress represent districts where local anti–Patriot Act resolutions have been enacted. The night before the vote, Norwalk, Connecticut, became the 381st community nationwide to publicly oppose the Bush Administration's efforts to pry into citizens' personal business. The success of the anti–Patriot Act resolution campaign is creating enthusiasm about the prospect of communities pressuring Congress to do the right thing. Cities for Progress, the national network that grew out of the antiwar Cities for Peace movement, has developed a new website, www.citiesforprogress.org, with a US map that links activists and officials. And despite lobbying from the White House, the often-cautious Conference of Mayors passed a muscular resolution endorsing the Kyoto Protocols and urging cities to take the lead in reducing greenhouse gases. The resolution was pushed by Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels. Dan Savage, editor of that city's weekly newspaper *The Stranger* reminds us that the term "urban archipelago," the popular catch phrase for progressive cities referred to in *The Nation*'s June 20 issue on local political action, originated with a manifesto his paper published this past November. With Mayor Nickels's success at getting the Conference of Mayors to move on Kyoto, it looks like not just the phrase but the reality of the urban archipelago begins in Seattle.

THE ART OF PROTEST

■ Those who missed the recent show of political posters at New York's School of Visual Arts can peruse the exhibit's striking, sometimes shocking images in a new book, *The Design of Dissent* (Rockport Publishers), edited by Milton Glaser and Mirko Ilic, creators of the show. It's packed with colorful reproductions of posters, magazine, covers, bumper stickers, buttons and other media by politically engaged artists.

THIS WEEK ON THE WEB

■ Herman Schwartz on the Supreme Court's medical marijuana decision in June, Doug Henwood on America's latest bout of "China panic" and Michael T. Klare on the possibility of US military action against Iran (www.thenation.com).

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Don't You Dare Call It Treason

Treason, no less. A leading Democrat, Henry Waxman, howls in Congress that "the intentional disclosure of a covert CIA agent's identity would be an act of treason. If Rove was part of a conspiracy and intentionally disclosed the name—then that jeopardizes national security." Liberal columnists like Robert Scheer of the *Los Angeles Times* join the Waxman chorus.

But suppose one of Valerie Plame's covert CIA missions, until outed by Karl Rove, had been to liaise with Venezuelan right-wingers planning to assassinate President Hugo Chávez, possibly masquerading as a journalist and using her attractions to get close to the populist president and try to poison him, just as the agency tried to poison Fidel Castro. In an earlier incarnation Scheer would surely have been only too happy to jeopardize national security by exposing Plame's true employer.

Thirty-eight years ago Scheer was one of the editors of *Ramparts*, and in February 1967 that magazine ran an exposé of covert CIA funding of the National Student Association, prompting furious charges that it had endangered national security, which, from the foreign policy establishment's point of view, it most certainly had.

The CIA's covert wing is not in the business of advancing world peace and general prosperity. The record of sixty years is one of uninterrupted evil. So we should drop all this nonsense about treason and clap Rove warmly on the back for his courageous onslaughts on the cult of secrecy. By all means delight in the White House's discomfiture, but spare us the claptrap about national security and treason.

To thread one's way through coverage of the Plame affair, the jailing of Judy Miller, the contempt citations of four journalists in the Wen Ho Lee case and the AIPAC/Franklin spy case is like strolling past distorting mirrors in a fun house. Go from one to the next and the swollen giant of "treason" in the West Wing of the White House shrinks to the dwarflike status of a "leak," which is how AIPAC's defenders like to categorize the transmission of a top-secret Presidential Directive on Iran from the Pentagon, via Larry Franklin, to AIPAC officials and thence to a spymaster, Naor Gilon, in the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

Judy Miller too has had an image makeover, from the warmongering fabricator of yesterday to today's martyr to the First Amendment, with years of profitable speaking tours beckoning after she is released from the incarceration that has winched her reputation out of the mud.

But why is prosecutor Fitzgerald going after her? She wrote no story about Plame. Now, as prime propagandist in the war faction, Miller would have been as keen to discredit Wilson as was Rove. Suppose she was Waxman's traitor, the one who relayed from her prime disinformant, Ahmad Chalabi, the news that it was CIA employee Plame who assigned her husband the Niger mission. Relayed to whom? Maybe to one of the State Department's neocon warmongers, like John Bolton or Elliott Abrams, who duly passed the news on to Scooter Libby and Rove in the White House.

Stroll on to the next set of mirrors, apropos Wen Ho Lee's suit, to discover who leaked the false accusations about his supposed acts of treason at Los Alamos, that he allegedly transmitted nuclear secrets to China. Four journalists, including James Risen of the *New York Times* and Bob Drogin of the *Los Angeles Times*, may join Miller behind bars for refusing to divulge their sources.

One can understand why Wen Ho Lee is unmoved by charges that he is sabotaging the First Amendment. His case displayed the FBI and the press that smeared him—primarily Risen and Jeff Gerth in the *New York Times*—in a disgusting light. He spent nearly a year in solitary confinement, with FBI agents telling him he might face the death penalty for being a traitor.

Who in fact was a prime betrayer of secrets, if one has to be found? On July 7 Steve Terrell reported in the *New Mexican* that the leaker so eager to disclose a top-secret government probe of Wen Ho Lee at Los Alamos may well be the current governor of New Mexico and possible White House aspirant, Bill Richardson, who was Clinton's Energy Secretary at the time and who had spent a large portion of his political career nurturing the interests of Los Alamos as a nuclear research lab.

If you want to start waving words like "treason" around, the AIPAC spy case is surely a better target than Karl Rove. Here we have a four-year FBI probe of possible treachery by senior US government officials, as well as by Israel's premier lobbying outfit in the United States. Yet compared with the mileage given to the Plame affair, coverage of the AIPAC spy case in the press has been sparse, and the commentary very demure, until you get to Justin Raimondo's pugnacious columns on Antiwar.com.

Raimondo has been comparing the AIPAC spy case to the indictment of Alger Hiss in the 1940s, claiming that just as the foreign policy apparatus was allegedly riddled with Communist spies in the 1940s, the same apparatus is now riddled with Israel's agents today. I'd reckon that when it comes to agents of influence, the USSR back then couldn't hold a candle to Israel today (or then, for that matter though in that distant time Zionist and Communist were often hats on the same head).

One answer in the McCarthyite era to accusations of spying was that the Soviet Union had been an ally and the supposed transmission of "secrets" was just a routine exchange of information on such matters as the schedule for the Dumbarton Oaks conference laying the groundwork for the UN (in which Hiss was involved). Similar talk about "allies" and "routine exchanges" pops from the mouths of Israel's supporters here, denouncing the FBI probe as some latter-day equivalent of the persecution of Dreyfus. It's perfectly obvious that Israel exerts huge influence on US policy. Men and women working in Israel's interest throng Washington. But here, as in the Plame affair, the left should be leery of words like "traitor" and "national security." They cut both ways. ■

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KATHA POLLITT

Should *Roe* Go?

Should prochoicers just give up and let *Roe* go? With the resignation of Sandra Day O'Connor, more people are asking that question. Democratic Party insiders quietly wonder if abandoning abortion rights would win back white Catholics and evangelicals. A chorus of pundits—among them David Brooks in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*'s Benjamin Wittes writing in *The Atlantic*—argue that *Roe*'s unforeseen consequences exact too high a price: on democracy, on public discourse, even, paradoxically, on abortion rights. By the early 1970s, this argument goes, public opinion was moving toward relaxing abortion bans legislatively—New York got rid of its ban in 1970, and one-third of states had begun to liberalize their abortion laws by 1973. By suddenly handing total victory to one side, *Roe* fueled a mighty backlash (and lulled prochoicers into relying on the courts instead of cultivating a popular mandate). In 1993 Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg caused a flurry when she seemed to endorse this view: *Roe*, she declared in a speech, had "halted a political process that was moving in a reform direction and…prolonged divisiveness and deferred stable settlement of the issue." It's not an insane idea, even if most of its proponents (a) are men; (b) think *Roe* went too far; and (c) want abortion off the table because they are tired of thinking about it.

But of course, if the Court overturned *Roe*, abortion would not be off the table at all. It would be front and center in fifty state legislatures. According to *What If Roe Fell: The State-by-State Consequences of Overturning Roe v. Wade*, a report published this past fall by the Center for Reproductive Rights, abortion rights would be at immediate high risk in twenty-one states, moderate risk in nine and "secure" in only twenty. Short of a takeover by the Taliban, it's hard to imagine abortion being banned outright in New York or California or Connecticut. But it is equally hard to imagine liberal abortion laws passing in the Deep South, Utah or South Dakota. And when you consider that Florida, Tennessee, Minnesota and West Virginia are listed as "secure"—all states that have seen recent antichoice victories and increasing Republican strength—you can see how volatile the abortion map could quickly become. Overturning *Roe* would definitely energize prochoicers and wake up the young featherheads who think their rights are safe because they have always had them. That's why some staunch prochoicers have "Bring it on!" moments: "Overnight," writes Susan Estrich in a recent syndicated column, "every election, for every state office, would become a referendum not on parental consent or partial birth abortion, but on whether regular old middle-class adult women could get first-trimester abortions. When you think about it that way, you have to ask: What could be better for Democrats?" Estrich rejects the thought, because—something the boy pundits forget—criminalizing abortion, however briefly, means many, many women would suffer atrociously.

The trouble is, getting rid of *Roe* would energize antichoicers too. Even in prochoice states, they might be able to win spousal notification requirements, bans on "partial birth" abortions or even on all second-trimester procedures except to preserve life and health. A national consensus on abortion might or might not develop over time, but any such would not likely be as permissive as *Roe*. Meanwhile—and possibly permanently—fortunate women in antichoice states would fly to New York or Los Angeles or Chicago, and the less lucky—the poor, the young, the trapped—would have dangerous, illegal procedures or unwanted children. It would be a repeat of 1970–73, when women who could get to New York—but only they—could have a safe, legal version of the operation that was killing and maiming their poorer sisters back home. The blatant class and racial unfairness of this disparity, in fact, was one of the arguments that pushed the Court to declare abortion a constitutional right. If *Roe* goes, that same disparity will reappear, relabeled as local democracy. And I'm not persuaded that the right to abortion will ever be the norm in, say, the South, where the religious right is strong, antiabortion sentiment is high and the political culture is inbred and hostile to women. Even now, there's only one abortion clinic in Mississippi, and the promised prochoice masses—the "regular old adult middle-class women"—have yet to arise.

Legislative control might be more "democratic"—if you believe that a state senator balancing women's health against a highway for his district represents democracy. But would it be fair? The whole point about constitutional protection for rights is to guarantee them when they are unpopular—to shield them from majority prejudice, opportunistic politicians, the passions and pressures of the moment. Freedom of speech, assembly, worship and so on belong to us as individuals; our neighbors, our families and our legislators don't get to vote on how we use these rights or whether we should have them in the first place. Alabamans may be largely antichoice, but what about the ones who aren't? Or the ones who are but even so don't want to die in childbirth, bear a hopelessly damaged baby or drop out of school at 15—or 25? If *Roe* goes, whoever has political power will determine the most basic, intimate, life-changing and life-threatening decision women—and only women—confront. We will have a country in which the same legislature that can't prevent some clod from burning a flag will be able to force a woman to bear a child under whatever circumstances it sees fit. It is hard to imagine how that woman would be a free or equal citizen of our constitutional republic.

* * *

I note with sorrow the death of longtime *Washington Post* columnist Judy Mann, a vigorous voice for women's equality and, as she herself noted in her farewell column, one of a dwindling band of prominent women opinion writers with strong feminist and progressive views. Demoted from the Metro section to a slot next to the comics in 1992, Mann retired in her prime and died, of breast cancer, much too soon. I missed her column, and now, I'll miss hoping I'd come upon her byline, somewhere, again. ■

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NAOMI KLEIN

Aristide in Exile

When United Nations troops kill residents of the Haitian slum Cité Soleil, friends and family often place photographs of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on their bodies. The photographs silently insist that there is a method to the madness raging in Port-au-Prince. Poor Haitians are being slaughtered not for being "violent," as we so often hear, but for being militant; for daring to demand the return of their elected president.

It was only ten years ago that President Clinton celebrated Aristide's return to power as "the triumph of freedom over fear." So what changed? Corruption? Violence? Fraud? Aristide is certainly no saint. But even if the worst of the allegations are true, they pale next to the rap sheets of the convicted killers, drug smugglers and arms traders who ousted Aristide and continue to enjoy free rein, with full support from the Bush Administration and the UN. Turning Haiti over to this underworld gang out of concern for Aristide's lack of "good governance" is like escaping an annoying date by accepting a lift home from Charles Manson.

A few weeks ago I visited Aristide in Pretoria, South Africa, where he lives in forced exile. I asked him what was really behind his dramatic falling-out with Washington. He offered an explanation rarely heard in discussions of Haitian politics—actually, he offered three: "privatization, privatization and privatization."

The dispute dates back to a series of meetings in early 1994, a pivotal moment in Haiti's history that Aristide has rarely discussed. Haitians were living under the barbaric rule of Raoul Cédras, who overthrew Aristide in a 1991 US-backed coup. Aristide was in Washington and despite popular calls for his return, there was no way he could face down the junta without military back-up. Increasingly embarrassed by Cédras's abuses, the Clinton Administration offered Aristide a deal: US troops would take him back to Haiti—but only after he agreed to a sweeping economic program with the stated goal to "substantially transform the nature of the Haitian state."

Aristide agreed to pay the debts accumulated under the kleptocratic Duvalier dictatorships, slash the civil service, open up Haiti to "free trade" and cut import tariffs on rice and corn in half. It was a lousy deal but, Aristide says, he had little choice. "I was out of my country and my country was the poorest in the Western hemisphere, so what kind of power did I have at that time?"

But Washington's negotiators made one demand that Aristide could not accept: the immediate sell-off of Haiti's state-owned enterprises, including phones and electricity. Aristide argued that unregulated privatization would transform state monopolies into private oligarchies, increasing the riches of Haiti's elite and stripping the poor of their national wealth. He says the proposal simply didn't add up: "Being honest means saying two plus two equals four. They wanted us to sing two plus two equals five."

Aristide proposed a compromise: Rather than sell off the firms outright, he would "democratize" them. He defined this as writing antitrust legislation, insuring that proceeds from the sales were redistributed to the poor and allowing workers to become shareholders. Washington backed down, and the final text of the agreement—accepted by the United States and by a meeting of donor nations in Paris—called for the "democratization" of state companies.

But when Aristide began to implement the plan, it turned out that the financiers in Washington thought his democratization talk was just public relations. When Aristide announced that no sales could take place until Parliament had approved the new laws, Washington cried foul. Aristide says he realized then that what was being attempted was an "economic coup." "The hidden agenda was to tie my hands once I was back and make me give for nothing all the state public enterprises." He threatened to arrest anyone who went ahead with privatizations. "Washington was very angry at me. They said I didn't respect my word, when they were the ones who didn't respect our common economic policy."

Aristide's relationship with Washington has been deteriorating ever since: While more than $500 million in promised loans and aid were cut off, starving his government, USAID poured millions into the coffers of opposition groups, culminating ultimately in the February 2004 armed coup.

And the war continues. On June 23 Roger Noriega, assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, called on UN troops to take a more "proactive role" in going after armed pro-Aristide gangs. In practice, this has meant a wave of Falluja-like collective punishment inflicted on neighborhoods known for supporting Aristide. On July 6, for instance, 300 UN troops stormed Cité Soleil, blocking off exits and firing from armored vehicles. The UN admits that five were killed, but residents put the number of dead at no fewer than twenty. Reuters correspondent Joseph Guyler Delva says he "saw seven bodies in one house alone, including two babies and one older woman in her 60s." Ali Besnaci, head of Médecins Sans Frontières in Haiti, confirmed that on the day of the siege twenty-seven people came to the MSF clinic with gunshot wounds, three-quarters of them women and children.

Yet despite these attacks, Haitians are still on the streets—rejecting the planned sham elections, opposing privatization and holding up photographs of their president. And just as Washington's experts could not fathom the possibility that Aristide would reject their advice a decade ago, today they cannot accept that his poor supporters could be acting of their own accord—surely Aristide must be controlling them through some mysterious voodoo arts. "We believe that his people are receiving instructions directly from his voice and indirectly through his acolytes that communicate with him personally in South Africa," Noriega said.

Aristide claims no such powers. "The people are bright, the people are intelligent, the people are courageous," he says. They know that two plus two does not equal five. ■

Research assistance was provided by Aaron Maté.

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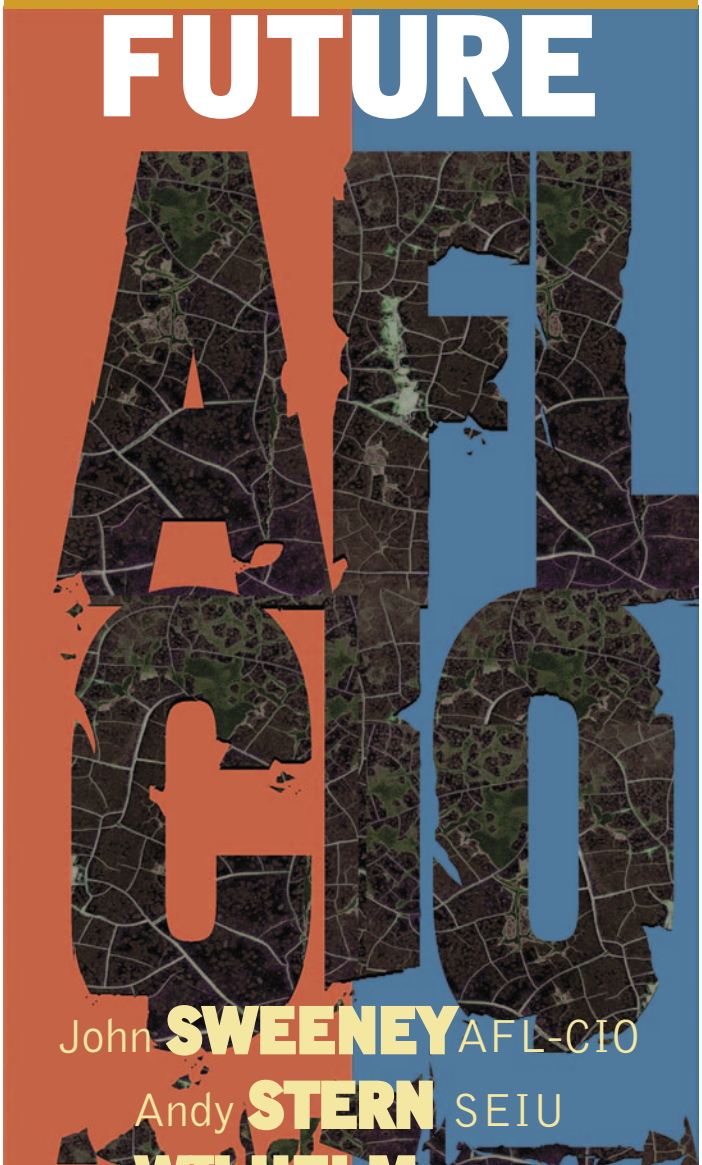
ARTICLES

DEBATING LABOR'S FUTURE



John SWEENEY AFL-CIO
Andy STERN SEIU
John WILHELM UNITE HERE
Gerald McENTEE AFSCME
Larry COHEN CWA
James HOFFA Teamsters

A forum edited by JANICE FINE

Now able to lay claim to only one worker out of twelve in the private sector, organized labor is in deep crisis, and this means that the American working class is in crisis. As the ranks of unions have thinned, economic inequality for all, particularly along racial and ethnic lines, has reached historic proportions. It is in this harrowing context that a debate has erupted, which will come to a head at the federation's July 25–28 convention, about the purpose and future of labor's central governing body, the AFL-CIO.

Calling themselves the Change to Win Coalition, five AFL-CIO member unions (SEIU, UNITE HERE, the Laborers, the Teamsters and the United Food and Commercial Workers) are pushing for a near-total redefinition of the AFL-CIO's role, which, they argue, is necessary to stimulate a return to large-scale worker organizing. Established through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1955, the AFL-CIO was set up as a voluntary coalition with little formal power over its affiliated unions. Change to Win proposes to streamline the federation while also giving it substantial power over member unions, with particular emphasis on the need for each union to focus its organizing efforts on a strategic economic sector—its "core industry."

The proposed reforms mirror restructuring measures that in recent years have been taken by some unions, like the SEIU and the Carpenters Union (which left the AFL-CIO in 2001 and joined Change to Win in June). They have consolidated local unions into regional bodies they believe map more logically onto the contours of emergent economic structures. The transitions have not been easy, and many worry that the restructuring has taken power away from local unions and the rank and file. Critics of the SEIU and Carpenters approach believe that it underestimates the centrality of rank-and-file participation and deliberation to nurturing working-class consciousness—the real key to labor's revival.

The five dissident unions are among the largest in the fifty-seven-member federation and together constitute more than a third of union membership in the United States. They are bringing a set of constitutional amendments to the July convention in the hope of persuading a majority of delegates to adopt them. If they lose, as SEIU president Andy Stern explains below, they are "fairly certain" to pull out of the AFL-CIO, possibly bringing others with them into a rival labor federation. AFL-CIO president John Sweeney and his coalition (which includes AFSCME and the Communication Workers of America) will be brandishing their own amendments at the convention. The sharpest difference between the two sets of proposals lies in the power vested in the federation to compel changes in the behavior of member unions.

The forum that follows is intended to give readers an opportunity to hear directly from six of the most prominent union leaders engaged in this debate: AFL-CIO's Sweeney; SEIU's Stern; John Wilhelm, hospitality president of UNITE HERE; AFSCME president Gerald McEntee; CWA executive vice president Larry Cohen; and Teamsters president James Hoffa. Each was interviewed separately by telephone. Transcripts of the interviews were edited for space and clarity. —JANICE FINE

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Q. What do you see as the main challenges facing today's labor movement? How much of labor's decline do you believe has been a result of weaknesses in the movement's own structures and strategies, versus external factors like labor law and the larger political and economic climate?

Sweeney: Working people are under attack in this country as never before, at least in the past eighty years, whether it is on Social Security or economic policies or attempts to take away collective bargaining and violate the right of workers to organize and form unions. At a time like this, we need unity and solidarity, and I think that is what working people in this country deserve. We really have to fight back stronger and smarter, and we have to do this together. Historically, our strength has been that we may not always agree, but when we take on big business or our political enemies we stand together.

Wilhelm: Workers are in trouble in this country, and a significant part of the reason for that is that the labor movement is in trouble. I think the country got put to sleep in the 1990s by President Clinton, Labor Secretary Reich and others assuring everyone that they shouldn't worry too much about the loss of good manufacturing jobs because we are in a knowledge economy and if everyone would just get the requisite amount of education, people would be able to get good jobs, comfortable working conditions and higher pay. They did that to put people at ease about things like NAFTA.

The American people now know that jobs of all kinds are being exported—especially knowledge jobs that are supposed to be the future of our economy. At home we see the other face of globalization, the wreckage of the middle-class dream this country created in the post–World War II era. We need to re-create the possibility that my generation was raised on—you work hard, you play by the rules and you get a shot at achieving the American dream. I don't think that re-creation of middle-class opportunities is possible without a bigger, stronger labor movement.

McEntee: The vast majority has been external factors, really. The Steelworkers went out and spent a lot of dough on organizing. They even looked toward other sectors like healthcare, where millions of workers are not organized. But they continue to hurt. The United Auto Workers are trying to organize parts plants and moving into organizing in the public sector to try and grow. What makes organizing so difficult are these external factors, much less the internal structure of the AFL-CIO.

Cohen: I look at it in a global context. Why is union membership rising in Taiwan, Korea, South Africa and Brazil and declining here? They have strong collective bargaining rights. It has more to do with the politics of those countries and our own, and the behavior of management and the political structure, than it has to do with how workers and their organizations change their behavior. In any crisis, there is an absolute need to change your behavior. But we shouldn't confuse the necessity to change what we do with the cause of the problem.

Stern: We have gone from a GM to a Wal-Mart economy. This can be slowed down, or, as we saw with the New Deal, we can organize unions and pass laws to soften the changes. There are a lot of factors we have less control of, but we have complete control over our own strategies and plans and the way we work with each other. That is where you have to start, with things that are in your control. If we want to reward work, we are going to need unions that have strategies, resources and the focus to be successful. I would say, right now we have unions that don't coordinate and cooperate and don't share a common strategy. We have a badly divided labor movement.

Q. Ten years ago there was tremendous hope and promise about the "new AFL-CIO." What is your assessment of what did and did not work at the federation? What do you believe are the lessons of the Sweeney years?

Sweeney: We have learned that labor's political clout has grown tremendously since 1995. During that time we have unified the labor movement around a program of membership education and mobilization. Even though union households constitute only 17 percent of the voting age population, they represented 24 percent of those who voted in 2004. According to national exit polls, 4 million more votes came from union households in 2004 than in 1992, despite labor's decline. Kerry would not have come close without the union vote. Nationally, among nonunion voters, it was a Bush landslide.

I am proud of the record we have in terms of how we have strengthened our political program and our organizing program, but I found the Bush Administration so anti-worker and so anti-union. As a result of our tax and trade policies, we saw very difficult times for workers. We have organized millions of workers, yet we lost almost 3 million good-paying manufacturing jobs with good health benefits and retirement security. As much as we organized, we managed only to stay stable in terms of membership.

Wilhelm: I think the lessons are programmatic and structural. The AFL-CIO has become a lowest-common-denominator federation. So as a practical matter, if any significant union opposes anything, it doesn't happen. We can't retool the labor movement for the twenty-first century if we are not ready to exercise strong judgment and make big decisions when necessary.

Cohen: In CWA, we think that the issue is the virtual elimination of collective bargaining rights and the linkage between those rights and any modern democracy. Our union identified that as the critical crisis more than fifteen years ago, when we helped start Jobs With Justice and put enormous efforts into building it. The incredibly positive thing about the AFL-CIO's focus of the last ten years is that more than ever in its history it has focused on exactly this problem. The primary crisis is not about union membership. We reject that. The crisis is about American workers' right to join and build unions.

McEntee: Up until ten years ago, the federation had no organizing program at all and the political program wasn't really grassroots-oriented, nor was it very large or powerful. Sweeney came in and one of the first things he did was to create a department within the federation for organizing new members, which had never been done before.

He took an entirely new tack in politics, to be much more aggressive in terms of staff and mobilization out in the field. I don't think anybody can argue with the fact that aside from

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Janice Fine, Senior Fellow at the Center for Community Change, will join the faculty of the School of Management and Labor Relations at Rutgers this fall. Her book Worker Centers: Organizing New Communities at the Edge of the Dream *is forthcoming from Cornell University Press and the Economic Policy Institute.*

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the political parties—and that is open for question with the Democrats—the AFL-CIO is the strongest on-the-ground political component in the United States today. This was Sweeney's leadership. It doesn't mean he did all that he wanted to do.

The insurgents are saying that the AFL-CIO is too close to the Democratic Party and supports more Democrats than Republicans. We are a liberal progressive union, but there are times we support Republicans who stand for working men and women. We support more Democrats because of the way the Republicans at any number of levels are treating us. In Missouri a Republican governor got rid of the executive order granting collective bargaining rights to public-sector workers, and that probably cost AFSCME, SEIU and the UAW 30,000 to 40,000 members. The same thing took place in Indiana, and now there's a strong possibility of losing 60,000 members. These people are Republicans. They are not Democrats, and we all know the record of George Bush since he has been in the White House.

Hoffa: We've got to get back to building a populist base in this country. There used to be a social contract where if you worked hard for a General Motors, showed up every day and were a good employee, they owed you something. Sometime during the Reagan Administration that got thrown out the window. Now there is this Darwinist ethos. We need an FDR-type person who talks about a populist program to get America back. While I am a Democrat, we have to find people who believe in working families, whether Republican or Democrat, who share our goals to build a pro-worker coalition.

Stern: One, I think what we learned is that having a plan matters and the plan being relevant matters. So the AFL beginning to focus on organizing matters, building a political program that focuses on talking to members at worksites matters. These were positives. Two, we have learned that a loose federation that allows everyone to act independently of each other is not going to work in the twenty-first century. The model of the federation that was set up in 1955, when one in three workers was in a union and each union could go it on its own, won't work today. Three, strategy matters. John Sweeney has done a strong job taking it to where it needs to go, but now it needs to get to a level that is more appropriate for a new century, and this will be based on organizing wholesale, not retail—organizing whole industries and sectors and markets, not individual worksites.

Q. What do you think are the core strategies needed to revive the labor movement? Is it possible for the AFL-CIO as currently structured to lead the kind of revitalization effort you believe is necessary? Should the federation have more power over its affiliated unions?

Sweeney: The federation is not a national union. It is a coming together of many different unions with different cultures and experiences. You have to bring people along in the process. Consensus is very important for the success of a federation.

We have to do everything in our power to strengthen the labor movement at every level, and that includes state and local initiatives within central labor councils and state federations. We have to continue what we have been focusing on for the past several years to build up our grassroots activists and involve them in membership mobilization efforts around the political program and issues campaigns. Last Election Day we had 225,000 activists out working all across the country.

The major change in the political operation is that we need to convert from a "get out the vote every two years" operation to one that is going on every day of the year, whether holding candidates accountable or mobilizing around issues like Social Security. That is our biggest strength, activating the grassroots members who want to be involved.

Wilhelm: It is a structural problem. Governance needs to be significantly overhauled. It is also a leadership question. We need a president of the AFL who will take a strong leadership position, even if that means something less than unanimous support for every measure.

The new mantra from their side is that there is not a lot of difference between the two sides of the debate, and this is patently not true. We are proposing a 50 percent rebate of the per capita dues paid by an international union to the AFL-CIO for a well-planned, systematic, well-resourced strategic organizing campaign in their core industry. We think this rebate would leverage about $1 billion. On top of that, $25 million would be devoted to large-scale organizing efforts like Wal-Mart that no one union can undertake by itself. So these two proposals taken together would [mean] spending over half of the roughly $125 million AFL budget on organizing. If the AFL is exhorting unions to organize but not itself focusing on organizing, the exhortations are meaningless.

Cohen: CWA believes that the constitution needs to change to make it fundamentally a local and state as well as national organization. Central labor councils should be the backbone of the federation, and membership in them should not be voluntary. You can't have an optional labor movement.

We need to mobilize the 13 million union members in this country into one united movement around democracy in the workplace. It is not about how much money we spend or how much staff we have. It is about mobilizing our members around that kind of change as well as around specific efforts to organize specific employers.

Stern: The constitutional amendments that Change to Win is proposing strengthen the power of the federation, which has historically had little power over affiliated unions. In the end, to be a chartered member of the AFL-CIO should mean that you are able to do certain things for your members.

The way that workers are succeeding is by working together with other workers who do the same type of work in their industry or sector. We call for strong industry coordinating committees that have the authority to bargain, make annual organizing plans and prohibit people who are not part of those plans to continue to be involved in that sector. This would put an end to the thirty unions that organize in healthcare every single year. There is a better way to unite the strength of workers than fifty-seven different international unions. There should be a blue-ribbon commission established to recommend mergers and incentivize them. Finally, there should be an executive committee. The executive council is too large to govern.

Q. Andy Stern, is it really possible to make a revolution like this overnight, at one convention? Is there room for compromise here, or is the drawing up of the amendments and bringing them to the July convention just a prelude to secession?

Stern: You can't compromise on having a strategy that rewards

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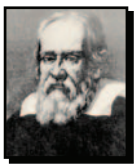
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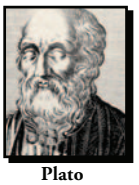
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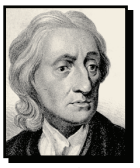
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people who go to work every day. We need a strategy that works. We can't take a little bit of this and a little bit of that and say we are all together—we are going to lose that way. If we start a new federation, it will have the values we have. We didn't write these constitutional amendments to create a double standard but with the clear understanding that, if we start a new federation, these are the values and the ways we would operate.

Q. If your amendments are not passed at the convention, how likely is it that SEIU will leave the AFL-CIO?

Stern: I would say right now it is fairly certain. We have a different strategy about how workers are going to be successful in this economy. We clearly are influenced by the fact that we have grown by 900,000 workers in nine years, by the fact that we are winning healthcare coverage while other workers are losing it.

Q. Some people feel that some members of the Change to Win Coalition look down on unions that have been struggling to organize instead of looking for ways to assist them and that for many unions, such as those in the manufacturing sector, the ability of employers to move production or outsource jobs to other countries makes it very tough to figure out what to do. How would you respond to that? How can the power of the manufacturing unions be revived?

Stern: The Steelworkers have made a choice to have an organizing strategy that is based on organizing any worker who is willing to pay dues in total defiance of what built the strength of that union, which was organizing workers in steel. That is their choice, and one reason they have been unsuccessful is that they don't have a long-term core industry strategy. Our union went and talked with them about organizing the security industry, which is one of our core industry focuses. They represent about 10,000 security guards in Canada. Since we are mostly focused on organizing security guards in commercial buildings, we offered to work with them to organize security jobs at industrial facilities. But they saw this as an attempt to distract them from organizing healthcare workers. There are problems for manufacturing unions who have to find ways to organize industries that are going to stay in this country, but for Steelworkers to go after nurses and public sector workers is just the wrong choice. Going after all different kinds of workers is not a successful strategy. Focus matters.

Wilhelm: There is no question that both bargaining and organizing in the manufacturing sector, where capital has become so mobile, is extraordinarily difficult. On the other hand, there are millions of manufacturing jobs in the United States. I think we need a strategy that does the utmost we can do politically, legislatively and through corporate strategies to diminish the flow of manufacturing jobs out of the country, and we need a strategy to organize the manufacturing jobs that are here. In terms of the arrogance issue, none of us feels arrogant about the changes that need to be made. The challenges that every union and worker faces are daunting. Nobody in the Change to Win Coalition believes we have the sure-fire recipe and that if only everybody else would sign on, it would be lovely.

Q. SEIU and HERE have reason to be proud of what they have accomplished. SEIU is one of the only unions that have significantly grown, but most of the others in the Change to Win Coalition have been shrinking, and many of them do organizing outside their core industry. What is this unity really based on? How do you justify a coalition with other unions that have not figured out how to organize their core industry?

Stern: We have six unions (including the Carpenters) that want to change to win, and none are saying that we have done everything right, up to now. There is a new president of the United Food and Commercial Workers who says that if they don't organize in their core industry of meatpacking and food stores, they will not be a relevant union in the future. Unions like the Teamsters reorganized themselves nationally to be more focused on industries, but they have many affiliates that have different ways of growing. They haven't moved the whole organization in that direction, and they may never do so. But the good news is they want to win and are ready to change.

Q. James Hoffa, the Teamsters are the most general union of all. Why are you on a team that is so clearly emphasizing uniting workers by core industries? You organize in every industry. Are you going to stop doing that?

Hoffa: Absolutely not. We would not give up members. But we feel that if a union is going to get the organizing rebate money from the AFL-CIO, it should be for organizing in their core industries, not just for going out and organizing zookeepers or something like that—which we have at the San Diego Zoo. We have from A to Z in our union, airline pilots to zookeepers, but we felt that the money that comes from the rebate program should go to each union for organizing their core industries. We will never just be a trucking or transportation union. We will always be a general union, and we are not giving up our right.

Q. Gerald McEntee, given your history as president of AFSCME and your belief in AFSCME's strategic sectoral approach to organizing, why aren't you with Change to Win? You have more in common with them.

McEntee: I would say this: We make out well under many of their proposals. For example, we would meet the standards for the Teamsters' proposal of a 50 percent per capita tax rebate for organizing in your core industry. But we believe there should be an AFL-CIO and that it should have the resources to operate. I have been with AFSCME for forty-three years. I started out as a steward in Philadelphia and have spent my entire adult life in this union, but I am also a trade unionist. I believe there has to be a trade union center, a federation where unions come together, where after the debating is through, they are able to exert their joint power across the United States and in individual states. I believe we have to have a strong federation. I am not for laying down these gauntlets, these "my ways or the highways."

Q. Scholars like labor economist Richard Freeman have documented that the labor movement here as well as all over the world has always grown in spurts and not by slow accretion. When the Wagner Act was passed, there was tremendous growth, in part because there was a general sense that President Roosevelt wanted workers to join a union and would protect their rights to do so. The Change to Win strategy is based largely on internal changes to the unions so they can go out and organize, but isn't a lot more than new structures, more staff and smarter industry strategy needed here? Where do movement building, changing the climate and

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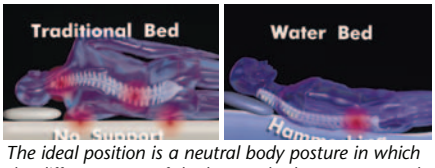

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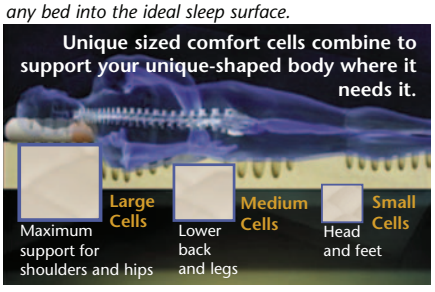
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building working-class consciousness fit into the vision?

Wilhelm: It is true the labor movement has grown in spurts, but it is not true that in the 1930s something happened just because the stars lined up a certain way. The growth of the CIO unions happened because there was a dramatic change in the structure of the economy. But that wouldn't have resulted in a huge upsurge of worker organizing and the consequent enormous improvement of society had it not been for a segment of the labor movement led by John L. Lewis, the CIO and some AFL unions as well. They decided to take a thoughtful look at what all these changes meant and to throw everything they had at organizing. There has got to be willingness to bet the ranch, and if existing unions don't do it then workers will invent something different. I think the labor movement can do it. We have an obligation to do it.

Stern: The working-class consciousness of the middle of the last century is gone, not just in the United States but also around the world, and the great social movements that drew our country in a different direction are all blowing less forcefully. We have to do our job first in order to be in a position to help to build broader movements for social change. If growth happens in spurts, we need to be prepared take advantage and create opportunities for those spurts in growth to occur.

Q. The whiteness of labor union leadership is a huge problem. How can this be changed?

Cohen: The key on diversity of all types is that all union structures and AFL-CIO structures reflect the composition of the membership base. If we did that, this would already look a lot different than it looks now. Second, if we believe in affirmative action for employers, we need to practice it ourselves in terms of things we can control, like staffing. Also, if we have labor councils rooted in America's cities and members are members of labor councils and those councils are viewed more and more as building blocks of a unified labor movement, that will diversify our movement structures.

Wilhelm: At our union it is an enormous problem, and we are doing everything we can to figure out how to encourage the development and advance the leadership of people of color and people whose native language is not English, because our union is majority minority and majority female. The increased diversity at HERE has come from developing new leaders, teaching leadership skills to women and people of color who are hungry for them. At the end of the day, the key to diversifying the labor movement and taking advantage of the vast strength that will come from greater diversity is organizing.

McEntee: The federation has no power over what is going to be the color of the executive council or the leadership of the executive committee. It comes back to individual unions and then to the long history of what kinds of people were organized by unions. For years, the AFL and even the CIO were organizing mostly white folks. They weren't organizing African-Americans. They weren't organizing Mexicans. The public sector helped break through this barrier. Now as we organize in home healthcare and childcare and in places like New York and Illinois and West Coast cities, we bring in large numbers of people of color and immigrants. Once we bring them into the union, we can educate and train and bring them up the ranks into leadership.

Q. Some people believe that the split between the AFL and the CIO was good for organizing large numbers of new workers into the labor movement. Do you believe a split today could have that same galvanizing effect?

Sweeney: You know, this is not the 1930s and '40s, when US industry was on the rise and we were shifting from an agricultural to an industrial economy. We are shifting to service, working families have no basic healthcare, the working poor is growing and people are barely getting by. Right-wingers in Congress are actively attacking worker protections at every turn. It should tell you something that those right-wingers are salivating at the prospect of a split. Look at the Republican websites—they are gleeful, because the truth is, we have maintained power out of proportion to our numbers because we have been organized. A split will help no one. Unions need to work together to take on the giant bosses who are allied against us. That is the only way we can succeed.

Stern: The labor movement is incredibly divided right now. The only way it is united is at a table in Washington, DC, or because it uses the same initials after its name. But when it comes to dealing with companies like United Airlines or national strategies about how to organize Wal-Mart or healthcare workers, there is no unity. The airline industry, the most heavily unionized industry in the country, is Exhibit A, B, C and D. If we don't believe our lack of ability to coordinate and cooperate within companies and across them is a factor, we are crazy. I don't think a split itself will create a whole new wellspring of growth and hope. I don't expect immediate results. But when you are going down a road that is getting smaller and smaller, and the markings are pretty clear that it is just wrong for workers, you have to change.

Wilhelm: There is no question that the historical context is radically different, but I would point out that the CIO did not begin as a split but as a group of unions who wanted to try doing some things differently. The AFL expelled them. The question is, Will the federation take advantage of the greatest opportunity since the Great Depression to respond to what the country needs the most, or won't we? I don't think there ought to be a split. At UNITE HERE it is not our preference to leave the AFL-CIO at all. But the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result. We have a responsibility as labor leaders—we can't just say, Well, if a majority of unions want to embrace the status quo, let's embrace it as well.

Q. President Sweeney, how will historians look back on these past ten years and your role within the labor movement?

Sweeney: I think they will recognize that the labor movement made some significant changes and focused heavily on organizing and political activity, that while two national elections were lost, we had our greatest number of workers and their families turn out in elections. They will see many successful organizing campaigns but a horrible Administration in Washington. Bush has had the worst jobs record since Herbert Hoover. They will see a record of strong activism on the part of rank-and-file workers in support of a strong, united labor movement.

Q. Any regrets?

Sweeney: I would have loved to have organized more workers and enjoyed some political victories, but unfortunately neither you nor I have had that. ■

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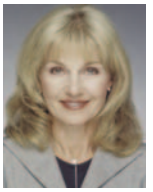

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The Rights of Journalists

VICTOR NAVASKY

EMILY FLAKE

What's with these special prosecutors anyway? Kenneth Starr is hired to investigate an obscure land deal and ends up impeaching the President for not coming clean about his sex life. And now Patrick Fitzgerald, the US Attorney from Chicago appointed to find out who violated the Intelligence Identities Protection Act by leaking to conservative columnist Robert Novak the identity of a covert CIA employee, ends up sending to prison a *New York Times* reporter who never wrote about the case.

Actually, for a while it looked as if Fitzgerald was going to use the government's contempt power to force not one, but two journalists "not charged with any wrongdoing," to quote William Safire, of all people, to betray their confidential sources. But at the last minute *Time*'s Matt Cooper, who, like Judith Miller of the *Times*, seemed ready to go to jail rather than betray a source, got a message from his source, Karl Rove, releasing him from his promise of confidentiality and agreed to appear before the grand jury. Cooper, incidentally, seems to have become a target largely because of an article he (and two other *Time* reporters) wrote for *Time*'s online edition three days after Novak's scoop, saying that *Time* had received a leak similar to Novak's. Subsequently Time Inc. editor in chief Norman Pearlstine, over Cooper's objections, agreed to turn over Cooper's notes, which included an e-mail showing that Rove had mentioned Plame, though not by name, and the prosecutor insisted Cooper testify in person.

Since much of the case is still shrouded in secrecy, determining the motives of the prosecutor is a mug's game. But understanding the forces in play and the issues at stake would seem to be critical to anyone who cares about the ability of the press to gather and publish the information a democracy requires.

It all started on July 6, 2003, when Ambassador Joseph Wilson, based on a trip he took to Niger at the CIA's behest, wrote an op-ed piece in the *Times* claiming that George W. Bush had relied on discredited information when he said in his 2003 State of the Union address that Saddam had tried to buy yellowcake uranium in Niger.

Enter Robert Novak, who reported in his July 14 syndicated column that, according to "two senior administration officials," Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, whom Novak described as "an Agency operative on weapons of mass destruction," had "suggested" Wilson for the mission. Three days later David Corn wrote on the *Nation* website that if Novak's reporting was accurate, the leakers may have violated the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, which makes it a crime to deliberately and knowingly divulge the identity of a covert intelligence agent, which Valerie Plame indeed was.

Several months later—after the CIA asked the Justice Department to investigate the leak—Attorney General John Ashcroft, who recused himself from playing any role in the case (what did *he* know and when did he know it?), appointed Fitzgerald special prosecutor to look into it. Subpoenas were duly issued to, among others, Walter Pincus of the *Washington Post*, who had written in October 2003 that White House officials had talked to a *Post* reporter about Plame, and also to NBC's Tim Russert, Miller, Cooper and probably Novak.

We still don't know whether Novak was actually called and what he did. He has said that on advice of counsel he will not talk about his role until the case is over, at which point he will tell all. In any event, the statute criminalizes leakers rather than leakees unless the leakees are engaged in "a pattern of activities intended to identify and expose covert agents."

We cannot know who told the grand jury what, but we do know that after the lower courts backed up Fitzgerald and the Supreme Court declined to hear the case, *Time*'s Pearlstine, who serves on the board of the Committee to Protect Journalists (as do I), decided that in this instance the notes of his journalist Matt Cooper needed no protection. Pearlstine told the *Times* that his "knee jerk" reaction was that nothing was more important than a journalist's keeping his word. But then "the journalist and the lawyer were fighting in my head" and "if presidents are not above the law, how is it that journalists are?" Pearlstine chose to rely on his head rather than his knee.

Thus far, the actions of both the special prosecutor and those he has summoned to testify have raised almost as many questions as they have answered. Yes, it seems brutally excessive, and dangerous social policy, to put Miller behind bars for refusing to give up a source. But since she never published a story on the matter, among the mysteries of this case are how and why Fitzgerald came to subpoena her in the first place. (The answer may lie in Judge David Tatel's concurring opinion in the appellate court where he seemed to want to create a protection of journalists' sources but decided that, based on secret evidence, Fitzgerald had good reasons to go after Cooper and Miller. Alas, the part of his decision referring to Fitzgerald's basis for going after them is blacked out.) Was she herself, as some of her detractors hint, a secondhand source out to discredit Wilson, whose op-ed was a rebuke to many of her stories on Iraq? As Frank Rich has written, she "was one of two reporters responsible for a notoriously credulous front-page *Times* story about aluminum tubes that enabled the Administration's propaganda campaign to trump up Saddam's weapons of mass destruction arsenal."

David Halberstam, criticizing Pearlstine's decision to turn

Victor Navasky is publisher of The Nation. *His latest book is* A Matter of Opinion *(Farrar, Straus & Giroux).*

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Cooper's notes over to the special prosecutor, asked, "Is this a journalistic company or an entertainment company?" But if the answer is that it's both, and the entertainment portion of a $5.6 billion company requires approval by the Feds for mergers, acquisitions and takeovers, where does one's fiduciary duty lie? And if it is to protect your corporation's assets, do they, as media lawyer Jim Goodale has maintained, include the First Amendment? In his book *The Politics of Truth*, Wilson states categorically that "the assertion that Valerie had played any substantive role in the decision to ask me to go to Niger was false on the face of it." If, as Wilson claims, his wife did not suggest him for the job, what obligation did Novak, or anyone else, have to protect the identity of a source who misled them?

And what of the *Times* itself? On the surface, Miller is a First Amendment martyr and the *Times*, as it did in the Pentagon Papers case, has done itself proud. Second guessers, however, like the *Post*'s David Ignatius, see Miller and the *Times* as having allowed the press "to be dragged into a no-win case that will weaken our ability to protect true whistle-blowers and thereby serve the public." That, presumably, is why reporters like the *Post*'s Pincus and Glenn Kessler and NBC's Russert let their lawyers work out arrangements that provide Fitzgerald with the information he wanted without compromising the reporters' sources.

Whether or not he ends up indicting the leakers, the question remains: Were his threats and calls for imprisonment vindictive overreaching? At the time the Intelligence Identities Protection Act was under consideration, in 1982, the civil liberties community was split. And although a less draconian version of the bill was ultimately passed, the more radical civil libertarians agreed with Representative Don Edwards, a former FBI agent particularly sensitive to First Amendment issues, who said during the floor debate that "no amount of tinkering can rehabilitate a law which criminalizes constitutionally protected freedoms of speech, press and political expression." Jack Shafer, a columnist for *Slate*, has argued that Fitzgerald is using a law that "was meant to protect journalists…to create the procedural equivalent of an Official Secrets Act. This is bullying, pure and simple." On the other hand, what should a prosecutor do when confronted with a statute in which the crime is leaking by a high government official and the (journalist) leakees are the only witnesses to this abuse of power? And where does the public's right to know come into it?

None of these are simple issues, but here is where I come out. First and foremost, it is wrong to put reporters in prison for keeping faith with their sources. Our ideal of an open society, and the free flow of information it presupposes, depends on protecting and encouraging such whistle-blowers. Also, as Justice William O. Douglas has written, when juridical values conflict, "the press has a preferred position in our constitutional scheme, not to enable it to make money, not to set newsmen apart as a favored class but to bring to fulfillment the public's right to know." Last and far from least, under the Bush Administration the free press has suffered a series of setbacks. Eric Alterman has documented in these pages how the White House has waged war on the critical press by curtailing its access to routine information, suborning friendly journalists and using other underhanded tactics [see "Bush's War on the Press," May 9]. Enough is enough. Undermining journalism at its sources is too much.

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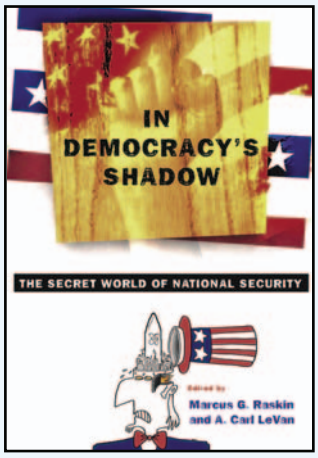

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Speaking of sources, I understand the argument against a journalist ever blowing a source. Nevertheless, I believe that at the heart of a reporter's promise to protect the identify of his source is a contract: You tell me the truth as you know it, and I will protect your anonymity. If the source breaks that agreement, there is no agreement. As Bill Kovach, chairman of the Committee of Concerned Journalists, and Tom Rosenstiel, director of The Project for Excellence in Journalism, have written, "A growing number of journalists believe that if a source who has been granted anonymity is found to have misled the reporter the source's identity should be revealed. Part of the bargain for anonymity is truthfulness." *Los Angeles Times* columnist Robert Scheer has suggested as much in the Wen Ho Lee case, in which the Los Alamos scientist falsely accused of leaking classified information is suing the government for violating his privacy. The judge has directed the journalists who published mis- and perhaps disinformation about him to reveal their sources.

As for the *Times*'s legal strategy in defending Judith Miller's refusal to cooperate rather than trying to strike a deal, I find Stephen Gillers of New York University Law School persuasive when he recalls that in 1975, when Congress for the first time put the federal rules of evidence in statutory form, they explicitly delegated to the courts the authority to elaborate a reporter's privilege in the common law. In his concurring opinion in the 1972 case *Branzburg v. Hayes*, in which the Court said the First Amendment provides no automatic shield, Justice Powell seemed to invite future courts to develop a modest journalists' privilege protecting them from unnecessary harassment by law enforcement. Who can say that the *New York Times* and its counsel Floyd Abrams were wrong to invite the courts down that road?

In the absence of a federal shield law, these controversies can be decided only case by case and conscience by conscience. But that is different from leaving it up to the corporate conscience. Time Warner's conduct is a good example of why. When Pearlstine decided to turn the documents over to the grand jury, he told the *Times* that money wasn't the issue. But in another story Lorne Manly and David Kirkpatrick reported that three executives involved in the internal deliberations, "speaking on the condition of anonymity because the company did not want them talking publicly about the matter" (I had to read that sentence twice), said that Pearlstine was convinced the judge might jack up the $1,000-a-day fine. Anyway, this is not about Pearlstine but whether promises—even by employees of mega corporations—should be protected.

Where does all this leave us? There is always the possibility that technically nobody is "guilty" because under the terms of the statute the person(s) disclosing Plame's identity had to have known that she was truly "covert," and maybe the leaker(s) didn't know that; nevertheless, Fitzgerald may well pursue perjury and obstruction of justice cases against him (or them).

Be that as it may, if I am right, the matter of a reporter's relationship to his/her sources won't be resolved until we break up the media behemoths; transform the judiciary into one that shares the views of Justices Hugo Black, William O. Douglas and William Brennan about the primacy of the First Amendment; repeal the Intelligence Identities Protection Act; and recognize that criminalizing journalists' conversations has only contributed to the confusions of the present situation.

But in case not all (or none) of the above happens, there are a few slender threads of hope on the legislative front: Republicans and Democrats have introduced several different bills for a federal shield law in both houses, claiming to offer journalists absolute protection but allowing the government to determine who is and is not a journalist, putting at risk independent journalists, not to mention bloggers. Conceivably the plight of Judith Miller will invite constructive legislation.

Whatever happens or doesn't happen to Karl Rove, the whole episode is another black mark against an Administration that used the specter of WMDs to justify our invasion of a sovereign nation; and then, for political purposes, blew the cover of an agent who for twenty years has had WMD as her portfolio, doubtless setting back the antiproliferation cause in ways we cannot imagine. ■

Letter From Ecuador
by Daphne Eviatar

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THE HIGH COST OF OIL

When Renee Arevalo purchased a small plot of land just off the main road to Shushifindi several years ago, it seemed like a great opportunity. A rectangular block of freshly plowed dirt off the well-traveled route toward one of Ecuador's oldest oilfields, the sizable lot looked like the perfect spot to build a small house for his family that would double as a tire repair shop. But then the rains came. The hard, driving rains of Ecuador's Amazon basin have made this rainforest region one of the most ecologically spectacular places on the planet. But at Arevalo's new home, the rains brought only a foul smell, sort of like a gas station. Then Arevalo noticed that the puddles of water that blotched his dirt yard had thick, multicolored swirls on top. When he poked a wooden stick a few feet down, thick black sludge bubbled to the surface.

Arevalo has a wide, square face that looks permanently creased from worry. He's lived here with his family for five years now, he told me when I met him outside his home recently. They

Daphne Eviatar, a 2005 fellow with the Alicia Paterson Foundation, is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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drink from a nearby well. But the family is always sick, he said. His children have constant stomachaches. And recently, his mother-in-law died of liver cancer. I asked him what he thought was the cause. "Of course it's from the oil," he said. A bony white cow curled up in the mud flicked away the circling flies with his tail. "But what can I do? Who can I complain to?"

Arevalo is just one of thousands of Ecuadorians left angry in the wake of decades of oil exploration that began in the 1960s and continues, albeit in a more modern form, today. He's also part of a growing force of poor and indigenous people across the country, from the peaks of the Andes to the lowlands of the Oriente, who have grown suspicious of Ecuador's government. Famous for its backroom dealings with oil companies and international financial institutions, the national leadership is widely seen as having enriched the elite at the expense of more than half the population, which struggles to get by on less than a dollar a day. In fact, among the indigenous, poverty is far worse—87 percent, according to the World Bank. And since 2000, when the country adopted the American dollar as its official currency to curb runaway inflation, that dollar has bought them a lot less than it used to.

Renee Arevalo, whose family is always sick, says, 'Of course it's from the oil. But what can I do? Who can I complain to?'

The combination of the sorts of economic reforms pressed by the United States, World Bank and IMF in the 1990s and the failure of the region's tremendous oil and gas wealth to benefit the poor and indigenous have led to a broad backlash against globalization across much of Latin America—illustrated by the rise of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, the fall of Bolivian President Carlos Mesa in June and the elections of a range of leftists, from "Lula" in Brazil to Néstor Kirchner in Argentina, who've vowed to reject the old Washington Consensus and do more for the poor. (Whether they've delivered on those promises is debatable.) And the developed world's addiction to oil has fueled oil companies' aggressive push into the most remote parts of the world, which until recently were largely undisturbed by Western-style modernization.

The resulting clash of interests and cultures reached a breaking point in Ecuador this past spring, when thousands of protesters crammed the capital demanding the resignation of President Lucio Gutiérrez. Although elected with the backing of the leading indigenous party, Gutiérrez lost indigenous support soon after meeting with George W. Bush and IMF officials, when he abandoned much of his pro-poor rhetoric and vowed to expand oil production—even if it meant using the military to do it. His attempts to consolidate power and shut out the opposition by, for example, sacking the Supreme Court and stacking it with his supporters finally led to his downfall.

Former Vice President Alfredo Palacio has now assumed the presidency. But it's unlikely that the longstanding conflict over who's helped and hurt by Ecuador's vast oil reserves, and what should be done about it, will be resolved anytime soon.

A drive along the Via Auca helps explain why. Built and named in the early 1970s by the California oil giant Texaco, then the dominant oil company operating in Ecuador, the Via Auca, or "Road of Savages," is responsible for the first incursions by oil companies into traditional indigenous life. Stretching from Coca—a crumbling city of tin-roofed shacks, sleazy nightclubs and burly oil workers—it cuts deep into what just thirty years ago was pristine Amazon rainforest. Now spaghetti-like rows of exposed rusty pipelines snake along the road and across the doorsteps of the shacks of *colonos*, as the settlers who work for the oil companies are called. Drilling stations, gas flares, military camps and strip clubs line the oil-slicked blacktop, which is crowded with Caterpillar tractors, Halliburton trucks and diesel-spewing Petrolera buses, which shuttle oil workers from Coca and back. Just off the road behind the pumping stations, lakes of viscous black waste sink into unlined pits.

The widespread oil contamination in the northern Oriente, as this rainforest region east of the Andes is known, is the subject of a twelve-year long lawsuit against Texaco (now merged into Chevron). Over the course of about twenty years, Texaco dumped some 18 billion gallons of oil and toxic waste into Ecuador's lakes and streams, contaminating groundwater, rivers and fisheries and causing hundreds of Ecuadorians to die of strange cancers, according to the plaintiffs. Their lawyers and scientific experts insist it's the worst oil-related contamination in the world today—thirty times larger than the Exxon Valdez spill. Texaco, which denies any link between oil exposure and health problems, claims it followed standard industry practices of the time and that Ecuador's government, to which it sold its interests in the late 1980s, is responsible for any problems today. Originally filed in New York, the case was transferred to Ecuador and is now in trial. Although much of the emerging evidence supports the plaintiffs' claims, Chevron has vowed that if it loses, it will demand in arbitration that the government cover all costs.

But regardless of the legal outcome, what's happened to this once-spectacular area—renowned as one of the most biodiverse places in the world—has transformed this country's national consciousness. For many Ecuadorians, especially the poor and indigenous, oil is now seen as a weapon of the powerful—a corrupt government working with foreign companies and international financial institutions—wielded at their expense. And while the failure of oil income to help the poor is nothing new in the developing world, the reaction to that failure in Ecuador—and, increasingly, across Latin America—is.

From North to South, indigenous communities who live in the Ecuadorian rainforest are refusing to allow oil companies to operate on their land. Although years ago some signed long-term oil-exploration contracts they can't go back on, the growing resistance has left this ecological land of plenty a landscape of striking contrasts.

At the rusty metal bridge where the Via Auca intersects with the Shiripuno River, I met Moi Enomenga, a Huaorani Indian with long black hair, dressed in beads and boxer shorts. A charismatic 40-year-old who's alternately playful and warrior-like, Moi, as he's generally known, has become a de facto spokesman for the Huaorani. Although he's spent most of his life in

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the rainforest, in recent years he's addressed the United Nations and other international organizations to press the indigenous cause.

Moi poled our dugout canoe upriver, and after four hours traveling through the thickening rainforest we arrived at Nenkepare, his family home. A ten-minute hike through tangled brush and towering trees brought us to a small clearing surrounded by a few simple houses of wood planks and thatched roofs. In a makeshift courtyard, Moi's parents sat by an open fire. His mother, the huge holes in her earlobes filled with large wood-and-feather earrings, stirred a pot of *chiche*, the homemade manioc beer that's a staple of the local diet. His father, whose leathery face and hound-dog eyes deceptively suggest a certain weariness, jumped up to greet us. Soon the village children streamed in, offering bracelets woven from reeds and leaves. Moi showed off his blowgun and the skeletal jaw of a wild pig he'd speared for dinner the day before.

'In the beginning, we accepted whatever the oil company offered. But after awhile we realized we didn't get any benefit.' —Moi Enomenga

Like many Huaorani upriver, Moi's family leads a centuries-old way of life completely dependent on an unspoiled rainforest. In the midst of an amazing array of wild birds, monkeys, insects and snakes, they live in hand-hewn huts, eat what they can find or kill with a blowgun in the forest and carry home in a basket woven on the spot from palm leaves. They cure their ills with the milk from trees and the ancient spells of shamans. While many of the Huaorani downriver abandoned these traditions after oil companies started building roads through their territory, others, like Moi's family, are holding on.

When I ask Moi why, he says it's because they now see that the communities that cut deals with the oil companies years ago didn't understand what they were giving up. In hindsight, that's not surprising: Pitting a multinational oil company against a premodern society in contract negotiations isn't exactly an even match. Company officials came to the rainforest expecting to purchase Manhattan for a handful of beads. For the rights to drill on their land, the communities did get some things in return—motors for their canoes, chain saws to build houses, soccer balls for the children, even a school. Some can now call the oil companies for emergency transportation and modern healthcare, which is otherwise nonexistent in the rainforest.

"In the beginning, we accepted whatever the oil company offered," says Moi. "But after a while, we realized we didn't get any benefit. The gifts don't last. We can have everything—an airplane, a helicopter—but we can't maintain it." Indeed, it's the Huaoranis' growing dependence on the companies and their increased alienation from the rainforest that's steadily destroying their way of life. "Now we want a moratorium on oil drilling so we can organize as a community and decide what to do."

Down south, the Achuar, with 5,000 members spread over more than 2 million acres of roadless rainforest, have already decided. Their answer is a resounding no: no to the oil industry, and no to the trappings of modernity that come with it. Although some individuals may feel differently, the Achuar federation is so adamant about its position that it's not only refused oil companies permission to enter their territory but has gone so far as to kidnap company workers who have ventured there.

When I visited an Achuar community last winter, I was led down a long dirt path, past lush fields of banana, manioc and pineapple, to meet Vicente Jimpikit, a stoic-looking 35-year-old in jeans, a number 13 soccer shirt and red warrior face paint. Seated on a wooden stool in the front room of a two-room palm house, his thick bare feet planted firmly on the dirt, he explained the Achuar position. "If the companies enter, they will destroy the entire forest," he said. "The forest is like a supermarket. It's where we collect things to build our houses and make our food. It is where we get our medicine. The companies will contaminate the water and bring diseases. We saw what happened in Coca, and we don't want that here. We want to live quietly, without trouble, with our own culture."

It's not clear how long they'll be able to maintain that position. Although the Achuar have legal title to their land, the government has already leased the subsoil rights to a consortium of oil companies led by Houston-based Burlington Resources. Burlington says it won't enter Achuar territory without the federation's permission. But as company spokeswoman Ellen DeSanctis told me firmly, "Bear in mind: We have the right to go in and explore. The government has given us the right to proceed with oil-exploration activities." Instead of using the military to do so, DeSanctis says, the company will try to convince the Achuar leaders that it's in their best interests. "At the end of the day they will have to make some very difficult decisions," says DeSanctis, from her office in Houston. "I understand how they feel. I don't like what's happening to my way of life either. Two blocks away from me they're tearing down a tall building with a view and building a mall. We're all trying to preserve a way of life. The modern world is encroaching on us everywhere."

Perhaps, but the stakes in downtown Houston aren't as high as in the Amazon rainforest. And Houston long ago made its decision. The Amazon's Indians are now pitted against some of the world's most powerful interests in a bitter struggle to defend theirs.

The upside of modernization, of course, is that it can make oil drilling far less destructive today than it was in the days of Texaco. But that's only if companies use the best available technology. They usually don't, because it costs more. Continued indigenous resistance, however, could force that calculation to change.

That would still leave the question of who gains. Even Burlington acknowledges that in the past, the poor and indigenous have not reaped the benefits of petroleum production. "If we could figure out how to work with the government so that some of the economic benefits actually get to the people, that would be quite remarkable," says DeSanctis.

So far, neither Burlington nor any other oil company in Ecuador has managed to do that. And while from Houston working with the government might seem like a plausible goal, most Ecuadorians long ago lost faith in their government's will-

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ingness to regulate companies to insure the people's well-being. If anything is to change, it will have to come from an evolution in the complex and historically dicey relationship between the oil companies and the indigenous groups who live in the country's oil-rich regions.

Burlington, for its part, hopes the Achuar will eventually allow the Texas company to drill for oil on their territory. And it's hired local Ecuadorians, including a member of the Achuar tribe, to help persuade them. That could be a cynical exercise in manipulation, or it could be a sign of incipient change. "There's a slow realization among some companies that they have to start taking community concerns more seriously than they have in the past," says Keith Slack, an extractive industries expert and senior policy adviser for Oxfam America, based in Washington.

Already, small successes are fueling sparks of optimism. Randy Borman is one surprising source of it. The son of missionary parents, Borman was born and raised among the Cofan Indians in the far northeast Oriente. Eventually elected a Cofan chief, he led several armed rebellions against the state oil company, Petroecuador, to force it to stop drilling or testing for oil on Cofan territory. Borman has since relinquished his warrior ways. At 49 he's pale and slight. But he continues to battle, from a spare office in downtown Quito, to preserve what's left of Cofan land. Now devoted to land conservation, he believes the oil industry can change its ways. "We need to insist that better work is done," he told me, describing how one oil company built a drilling station in the rainforest without roads, accessible only by helicopter and monorails. "It's more cost-effective in the long run. There's a lot of fear because of the Texaco experience, but there are countercurrents. We can force them to change."

Would he recommend the Cofan accept oil companies on their territory? I asked him. "We would look at it very closely, keep tabs on it and expect a fair share of the profit, not just a payoff," he said. "We would want to come in as shareholders. The budget would have to include patrol money for independent monitoring. That we could deal with."

"Many people see conservationists as against everything," he continued. Indeed, some eco-activists—many based in California—militantly oppose oil operations in Ecuador altogether. "I can't see having that position when the world uses oil for everything," says Borman. "But I can see holding them to the highest standards possible." As North Americans do in the United States, he added. "When I visited Texas a few years ago with my family, I was driving along and seeing one oil well after another, and not a speck of oil anywhere on the ground. No big infrastructure. In the desert. There's no dirt. There's no uncleanliness. It's amazing. It's the corporate motivation: If it's not against the law you do it the cheapest way possible. But if there's someone to stop you, you do it better."

If recent events in Ecuador are any indication, there may well be someone—tens of thousands of people, even—ready to stop those who do business the old way. That leaves it up to the oil companies to prove that they can do better. ■

LETTERS

CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

these guys don't change their minds, ever, don't compromise, ever, and are promoting Hillary because they know she doesn't have a snowball's chance in a house fire. I'd write in Barbara Boxer, Christopher Dowd or Harry Reid (even my dog) before I'd vote for Hillary. KAREN BYARS

New Orleans

■ Bravo, Hillary! For those of us who believe that it's high time for women to become real players in the political games that white men have gerrymandered for far too long, Senator Clinton's intelligence, savvy and political experience (gained in part during her years as a lawyer and political wife) offer a modicum of hope. Now, if only *The Nation* will refrain from further savaging her prospects with unflattering caricatures like the one that appeared on your cover, which only right-wing crazies could love and that fail to reflect the nuanced reporting in the pages of your esteemed journal, perhaps Senator Clinton will have a chance to succeed where other (male) Democratic politicians continue to fail. EDMOND B. FROCK III

Santa Monica, Calif.

■ Now I get it. By voting for the "war on terror" and the war on Iraq, as well as the Patriot Act and the most recent $80 billion-plus to continue violence against the Afghan and Iraqi people, Hillary Clinton is demonstrating that she is "a surprisingly agile and ideologically complex politician" who is "slowly crafting a politics that in some ways is new, and above all is uniquely her own." Please stop excusing Hillary's pro-war positions. It is sickening. JOHN MARCIANO

Washington, DC

■ It seems Senator Clinton tailors her convictions to suit her audience. A perfect example are her May 24 and 25 Senate votes. Tuesday she voted to close off debate on the judicial filibuster, thus permitting a vote to confirm Judge Priscilla Owen's nomination to the federal bench to go forward. But on Wednesday Clinton voted against Owen's nomination, which her vote the previous day had facilitated. Depending on whom she is addressing, Clinton can either say she voted for Owen's nomination or against it. In 2008 I hope to vote for Howard Dean or Russ Feingold or Barbara Boxer. CAROL JORDAN

Annapolis, Md.

■ Hillary is almost a clone of Bill. She supported a messy approach to healthcare, the disastrous NAFTA, the immoral and illegal launching of wars against Serbia and Iraq and now she's become almost antichoice. She never takes on tough issues, and she is great at giving away the store. On the Senate Armed Forces Committee hearings, Hillary aims to score points against the Pentagon and State Department actions but never challenges their outrageous behavior, from the implicit approval of torture to silencing the media. In what great liberal tradition can an aspirant for high office stand by while her government wages imperial ventures and inflicts death and destruction? If she really wants to support the troops she should get visceral at their losses in the field, and if she is concerned about the taxpayers she should vote to cut off the hundreds of billions funding this calamity in Iraq. That would take principle and risk some unfriendly publicity from the chauvinists in the media. Hillary doesn't have it. WILLIAM GOLDMAN

LET THEM DRINK LATTE

New York City

■ In "Just My Imagination," his June 13 review of Russell Jacoby's defense of utopian thought, Terry Eagleton sneers at "the hard-nosed pragmatists who behave as though the World Bank and caffe latte will be with us for the next two millennia."

Excuse me, but if I can't drink good coffee, it's not my utopia. ELLEN WILLIS

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

GETTY IMAGES

No Exit Strategy

DAVID RIEFF

SQUANDERED VICTORY: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq.
By Larry Diamond.
Times Books. 384 pp. $25.

LOSING IRAQ: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco.
By David L. Phillips.
Westview. 292 pp. $25.

One of the stranger domestic cultural subplots of the war in Iraq has been the confidence with which so many politicians, commentators and journalists alike have felt comfortable claiming, often on the basis of the most fleeting experience there, how postwar Iraq is going to turn out. With his "Mission Accomplished" speech aboard the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Baghdad to American forces, and the Range Rover machismo of his "bring 'em on" response to the first serious signs of a homegrown Iraqi insurgent challenge to the US occupation, President Bush remains the world record–holder for this brand of hubris. But any number of people, from Vice President Cheney down to the most hectoring blowhard on Fox News, have been hard at work making a run for his title.

Mostly, it has been a habit of feeling (and of hype), not of thought. Given the fact that Gen. John Abizaid, who heads the US Central Command, and Gen. George Casey, who commands the multinational forces on the ground in Iraq, have both said publicly that over the past six months the insurgency has remained much the same in terms of its lethality and reach, and that Defense Secretary Rumsfeld has said it could go on for as many as twelve years, it is hard to believe the Vice President really thinks it is in its "last throes." But to the right, it is an article of faith that the United States is winning. The problem

David Rieff, who reported from Iraq for The New York Times Magazine*, is the author of, most recently,* At the Point of a Gun: Democratic Dreams and Armed Intervention *(Simon & Schuster). He is currently at work on a book about Islam in Europe.*

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is that it has been an article of faith since before the war even began. And by the fall of 2003, six months after Baghdad fell, pro-Administration pundits were already insisting that, as Max Boot, John M. Olin fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and contributing editor to *The Weekly Standard*, put it at that time, "the world press, which lavished such attention on Iraqi looting back in May, seems largely indifferent to the successful work of rebuilding that has gone on since."

Boot pointed out such supposedly underreported or misrepresented success stories as what was taking place in Iraq's Shiite south around the shrine city of Najaf, controlled by the Marines, and in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul, controlled by the Army's 101st Airborne Division. By 2004 Americans had their hands full beating back a rebellion by the militia of radical cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, and after Baghdad Mosul is now probably the least secure and most heavily insurgent city in all of Iraq. Apparently undeterred, Boot recently published a column in the *Los Angeles Times* titled "Why the Rebels Will Lose."

Some of the hard left, or what passes for it in the United States and Britain, has not been much better. An equally ideologically based divination of the Iraqi future has been in effect. The new Iraqi government, which Susan Watkins, writing in *New Left Review*, called "Vichy on the Tigris," could not last (it did). The January elections would be a failure (they weren't). There would be civil war between Shiites and Sunnis (so far not, in no small measure thanks to the Shiite Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani).

The fact is, no one really knows how things are going to turn out in Iraq, and the certainty with which those who don't seem to think they do, from President Bush and Paul Wolfowitz to Noam Chomsky and Arundhati Roy, brings to mind Cicero's remark that he cannot understand how, when two soothsayers meet in the street, they both don't burst out laughing.

There is, however, a subset of books and articles on Iraq that are worth taking seriously. More limited in scope, they are mostly concerned with what went wrong either in the planning for the war or with the conduct of the US occupation in its aftermath. That things went not just wrong but badly wrong is, after all, perhaps the one thing on which opponents and supporters of the war (outside a lunatic fringe of right-wing bloggers and their audience, that is) can agree. Like the existence or, rather, the nonexistence of an arsenal of weapons of mass destruction in Saddam Hussein's hands, the predictions of Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and others more or less all the way down the Administration food chain about Americans being welcomed with sweets and flowers, the ease with which order would be established, the speed with which US troops would be withdrawn and the relatively low cost of the entire venture, have all proved to have been mistaken. Indeed, there is something quite startling, perhaps even unique in the annals of US government, about the comprehensiveness of the Bush Administration's misreading of the postwar situation in Iraq.

To the right, a US victory in Iraq is an article of faith. The problem is that it has been an article of faith since before the war began.

The depth of that misreading is exposed both in Larry Diamond's *Squandered Victory* and David L. Phillips's *Losing Iraq*. The subtitle of each book telegraphs its thesis nicely while hinting at each writer's area of expertise. Diamond, a professor of political science and sociology at Stanford and a leading figure in what has become the academic subdiscipline of "democracy building," calls his "the American occupation and the bungled effort to bring democracy to Iraq." Phillips, a longtime campaigner for humanitarian interventions from the Balkans to Afghanistan and a former adviser to the State Department planning group for postwar Iraq, uses the blunt phrase "inside the postwar reconstruction fiasco." So we know where we are.

Reading Phillips and Diamond is like reading an account of the campaign of a seriously inept military commander—Alcibiades, say, or Custer. Given the scale of muddle, pigheadedness, amateurism, bureaucratic infighting, ego and turf wars that both men describe in the run-up to the war (the strongest and most original part of Phillips's book, not least because he was an actor of some significance in that period) and during the first year of the American occupation, when Iraq was ruled by the so-called Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), in which Diamond served for some months, it is a wonder that things in Iraq have not turned out even worse than they appear to have done so far. Diamond says as much. "Mistakes," he writes, "were made at virtually every turn."

Of course, some of these mistakes are by now very well known. As Diamond rightly puts it, "The United States invaded Iraq without an effective plan to secure the peace." The looting of Baghdad, which those of us who were there at the time witnessed in all its stupefying comprehensiveness even as we were flabbergasted by the unwillingness of US forces to intervene in any way, was emblematic of the whole sorry postwar mess. Diamond covers this, as he glancingly treats the prewar planning failures that are Phillips's main focus. But he is most instructive in his account of the nuts and bolts of the dysfunctionality of the CPA. "We never had enough civilian employees, or enough armored cars, body armor, helicopters, and other forms of secure transportation to move the staff members safely around," he writes. "We never had enough translators and interpreters.…We never had sufficient expertise on the ground—people who knew the country, its culture, and its history, and who could speak its language reasonably well."

Worse still, unable to attract many people with real experience to its ranks, "the CPA relied heavily," as Diamond puts it, "on a revolving door of diplomats and other personnel who would leave just as they had begun to develop local knowledge and ties, and on a cadre of eager neophytes—some arrogant and others reflective, some idealistic and others driven mainly by political ambition."

Here, Diamond is being unnecessarily discreet. He really should have been much more severe with regard to these people he calls "eager neophytes"—in reality, disproportionately young men and women who worked in low-level positions within the Bush Administration, the Washington right-wing think-tank orbit, the Congressional Republican Party or the national Republican Party. A few, notably the CPA's senior adviser, Dan Senor (now a contributor to Fox News), cut their institutional teeth in AIPAC, the powerful American-Israeli Political Action Committee. It was commonplace to talk to young people in the Green Zone—the heavily fortified palace complex where the CPA was headquartered and from which most CPA employees rarely ventured except under heavy military escort—and find them fully up to speed on the Bush Administration's revolutionary project (a favorite word of theirs) for democratizing the Middle East but with only the haziest knowledge of Iraq, let alone of Arab, Persian or Islamic history. A favorite joke among these kids—and they were kids—at the time was, "anyone can go to Baghdad. Real men want to go to Tehran."

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Thus did neoconservative dreams, hatched within the Beltway, flourish for a time along the Tigris.

Diamond's story, well told and carefully judged, is, to paraphrase Joan Didion, how those dreams came to dust. For him, it was as much as anything a matter of hubris—"the same imperial hubris," in his words, "that had landed the United States in Iraq with a democratizing mission but no real sense of how to accomplish it." For Diamond the CPA's administrator, L. Paul Bremer, exemplified this combination of complacency tipping into arrogance—above all, the failure to realize how Iraqis saw their American occupiers and to reckon with the gap between "how the powerful behave and how the powerless behave," as one of Diamond's CPA colleagues once remarked to him. This attitude extended to the disbanding of the Iraqi army and the barring of mid-grade as well as senior Baathists from public employment, along with naïveté about the Iraqi political situation—starting with an overestimation of exile leader and then–Defense Department favorite Ahmad Chalabi, but more crucially in what Diamond views as a radical underestimation of the importance of Grand Ayatollah Sistani.

It does credit to his sense of fairness that Diamond goes to some lengths to paint a mixed picture of Bremer and of the CPA. Not for him the American military's contempt for the organization, exemplified, as Max Boot reported, in the joke that CPA stood for "Can't Provide Anything." Diamond notes that some of the worst decisions Bremer made were probably imposed on him by senior members of the Bush Administration, and he compliments Bremer's commitment and his work ethic. And yet the portrait Diamond paints of this erstwhile US Ambassador to the Netherlands, Ambassador at Large with special responsibility for counterterrorism and onetime managing director of Kissinger Associates (and, by extension, of the US occupation of Iraq as a whole) is devastating—more devastating, perhaps, than even Diamond realizes. It is well-known that Bremer could never establish decent relations with Sistani, who sedulously refused to meet with him (indeed, Diamond should properly have stressed the role of Brazilian diplomat Sergio Vieira de Mello, the United Nations special representative who before his assassination in Baghdad was mostly responsible for keeping channels open between the American occupiers and Sistani). What is less well-known is what Diamond describes as Bremer's insistence—shades of his ex-boss Kissinger—on controlling every aspect of the CPA. One of his senior aides confided to Diamond that Bremer "stovepiped everything. Nobody knew what anyone else was doing."

Squandered Victory ends on a note of self-questioning rather than certainty, as well it should, given the fact that, as Diamond rightly says, "despite the litany of blunders we have committed, Iraq may yet emerge slowly from political chaos, first into a troubled semidemocracy, and then, gradually, into a democracy." But while, in the last chapter of his book, he lapses back into his Stanford political science persona and offers a series of policy recommendations for how a future American occupation might be better prepared and better carried out, his heart doesn't really seem to be in this (already curiously tentative) blueprint. Even before laying out his recommendations, Diamond quotes a senior Arab diplomat of his acquaintance who told him that "the war itself was the original sin," and it is worth recalling that Diamond himself opposed the war before it started. That said, for Diamond even to attempt to persuade his readers after what his book documents so ably that "if we learn from our mistakes, our next engagement to help rebuild a collapsed state might have a more successful outcome" seems not just conformist but intellectually irresponsible—hope for hope's sake, which is a sentiment, not a rational conclusion. If anything, his contention that the real lesson of Iraq is not "'don't do it' but 'don't do it alone' and 'don't do it with an imperial approach'" has an even more unreal quality.

It is empire that is the ghost at the banquet in Diamond's approach, and it is the problem of imperialism that he never quite confronts.

After reading these lines, one can't help asking in what world Diamond thinks he's living. He clearly has a fine mind and he has written a serious and valuable book, but he also seems to have a conventional mind. Iraq is not a conquered or even, if one were to take the neoconservative view, a "liberated" country; it is a collapsed state. And the lessons of previous "nation-building" efforts could and should have been applied to Iraq. Perhaps. But when Diamond, following the Australian academic Simon Chesterman, seriously contends that it is possible to combine "international trusteeship or imperial functions with a distinctly non-imperial attitude," any reader possessed of the most rudimentary skeptical faculties will start tuning out. Still, this kind of senior-common-room utopianism inadvertently makes clear what is missing from Diamond's otherwise unflinching look at what took place in Iraq under US occupation. And that is the problem of empire. It is empire that is the ghost at the banquet in Diamond's approach, and it is the problem of imperialism that, although he treats it glancingly, he never quite confronts.

But at least Diamond remains troubled by the entire project of America going into Iraq, if not (or at least not sufficiently) by the project of imposing democracy from without. Whatever their other differences, that project is a major point of convergence between the Bush Administration and human rights liberals who are otherwise most critical of it. As William Schulz, the executive director of Amnesty International (USA), put it recently, "Had any president other than George Bush promised in his inaugural address to tie U.S. policy to the pursuit of 'freedom's cause' and uttered words like 'America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains or that women welcome humiliation and servitude,' our [i.e., the human rights movement's] hands would ache from applause."

David L. Phillips has far fewer doubts than Diamond. *Losing Iraq* is perhaps the best recapitulation we have so far had of the position of those who ardently supported US intervention in Iraq and, for that matter, generally support so-called humanitarian interventions throughout the world (though calling them interventions on human rights grounds would probably be more accurate), as Phillips devoted himself to doing during the Balkan wars of the 1990s. And while his book is largely an indictment of the way the Bush Administration decided to deal with Iraq after it had deposed Saddam, Phillips goes to some lengths to point out the continuities between George W. Bush's foreign policy goals and those of his predecessors—goals that Phillips summarizes by quoting from a speech by President Truman to the effect that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation."

When he uses Truman's lines to evoke this American mission, Phillips seems to be thinking of the Kurds, with whom he has developed especially close relations

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over the past fifteen years, and perhaps of the besieged Sarajevans as well. Unfortunately, it never seems to occur to him that, say, from a Latin American perspective, those words have a very different resonance indeed, and that on that continent, historically, the free peoples resisting subjugation were more often than not resisting the subjugation of the United States. But imperialism does not trouble Phillips. He seems never to have doubted that it was right to overthrow Saddam on human rights grounds. At various points in his book, he speaks of the campaign's "noble intentions" and echoes—without even the minimal skepticism that the powerful surely should always engender in people with any historical memory at all—then–National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice's description of America's mission (and how loaded, not to say self-infatuated, that word alone is, and what habits of thought and feeling it reveals) as one in which America "may be the only great power in history that prefers greatness to power and justice to glory."

Caveat emptor. In *Losing Iraq*, the problem of imperialism is simply ignored. What Phillips seeks to do, beyond, of course, exposing the mess the Bush Administration made of postwar Iraq, is, as he says, to elucidate the Administration's "mistakes in Iraq so that it does not repeat them elsewhere." It is emblematic of Phillips's view that, whereas former national security official David Rothkopf has criticized the Bush Administration for what he calls its "rationale shopping" in the run-up to the Iraq War, Phillips seems comfortable predicting (and approving of) US interventions to "protect its security interests, remove weapons of mass destruction (WMD), or prevent genocide." Yes, he would like more multilateralism, more inclusion of and respect for the UN—in short, he is closer to the Bill Clinton than the George W. Bush version of American hegemony—but the idea that intervention itself might pose moral problems is not a possibility Phillips seems prepared to consider. Once more, in this, as in other important aspects of its argument, Phillips's book illustrates the continuities between the Bush Administration's approach and that of the human rights movement.

However, the real interest of Phillips's book, and what makes it essential reading for anyone interested in why the postwar went so badly, is his insider's view of how the United States planned and how it failed to plan for the Iraq over which it would hold sway after the fall of Saddam. The Administration's view, publicly at least, is that its postwar planning was effective in some ways and ineffective in others, and that, since this is true of all plans, particularly military plans, it has little to answer for. And it is true that the Pentagon did make plans to cope with the sorts of things US forces had faced after the Gulf War of 1991—above all, an attempt by the Iraqis to set fire to the oilfields and the movement of hundreds of thousands if not millions of refugees. But whatever the planning, or lack of it, no one who saw the disarray of US forces as Baghdad was looted, or later read in the after-action reports by various units that there had been little or no rehearsal for even maintaining order in postwar Iraq, could be in any doubt that American planners had either not anticipated or been unable to come up with answers to the challenges that the American occupiers did confront.

Catchphrases like 'rebuilding institutions' and 'democratic principles' are recited as incantations but are not examined or critiqued.

To those of us on the ground at the time, there were only two credible explanations. The first was that the planners had gotten things wrong; the second was that there had been no plan (the Iraqis I knew generally attributed the debacle to a US conspiracy—a view, in my experience at least, from which most could not be moved). The great merit of *Losing Iraq* is that it documents not just the fascinating debates between Iraqi exiles and US government officials to which Phillips was often the only independent American witness but the fact that, under the aegis of the State Department in the year before the war began, these Iraqi exiles themselves came up with a postwar plan that both anticipated many of the problems the CPA would face—in other words, that panoply of difficulties Diamond exposes so ruefully in his book—and offered solutions for them.

To his credit, Phillips is under no illusion that what became known as the State Department's Future of Iraq Project, to which he was a senior adviser and, because of his deep and longstanding ties to the Iraqi opposition, a key facilitator, would have been a "silver bullet for Iraq's problems." But it was, he insists, rightly in my view, not just "a broad, voluntary effort to meld the talents, experience, and expertise of Iraqis in the service of a new Iraq" but one that dealt seriously with almost every aspect of Iraqi society—from public finance and agriculture to human rights, justice and security. Obviously, one huge if inescapable drawback of the project was that all the Iraqi participants except the Kurds were in exile and that exiles, be they Cuban, Croatian, Iraqi or Tibetan, almost never have a view of their homeland that reflects the changes since their departure. Although obviously aware of the problem, Phillips does not emphasize sufficiently the distortion this must have produced in the Project's work. There is something almost starry-eyed about his account of Iraqis "coming together," as he puts it, "to plan their country's recovery." Given the infighting among the participants he describes in such illuminating detail, the reality must often have been very different.

A further problem is that Phillips, as much if not more than Diamond, uncritically uses catchphrases like "rebuilding institutions," "transition to democracy" and "democratic principles," as if they stood in no need of examination or critique as concepts—one more illustration of what might be called the mechanistic fallacy of the democracy-building "business." When, for example, he reports that "the task force recognized that human rights and the rule of law are the cornerstones of peace, progress, and development," one starts to feel that one is at a party meeting, even if the party in question is not necessarily clear. For a sentence like that is not a thought, it's an incantation—like so much of the rhetoric of the human rights movement today, whether expressed by Paul Wolfowitz or Amnesty International's Irene Khan.

But for all the objections that can be raised to the Future of Iraq Project, as Phillips says, it anticipated many of the problems the CPA would face in postwar Iraq and so often failed to cope with either effectively or intelligently. In contrast, the Defense Department had no coherent plan. As Phillips remarks with justifiable bitterness, instead of a plan or a program the Bush Administration "focused on a person"—Ahmad Chalabi, who, they believed, could transform Iraq into a liberal democracy and support US goals in the Middle East. Having joined forces with Muqtada al-Sadr and the Iranians, to whom he allegedly provided extremely sensitive intelligence on American plans in Iraq, Chalabi has few friends

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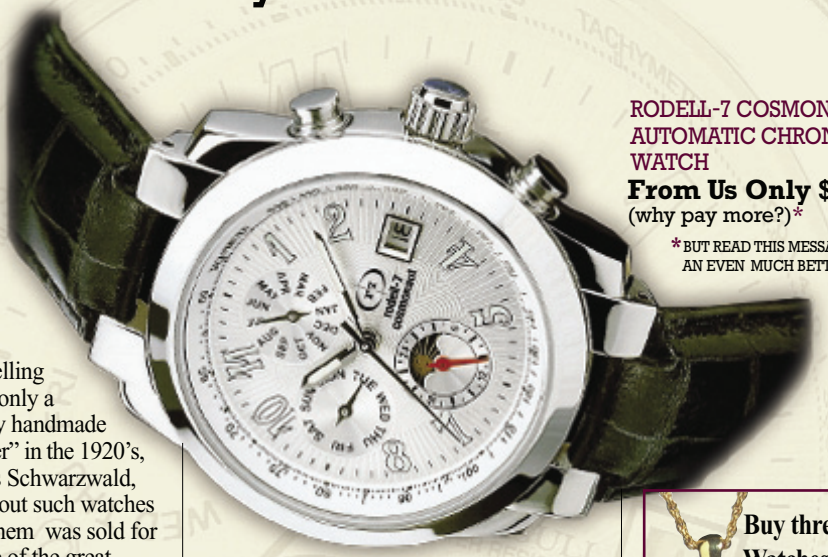

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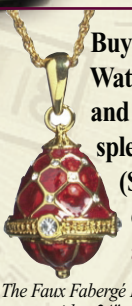

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in Washington these days, and it is now hard to remember what a swath the Iraqi exile cut through the corridors of power—above all Vice President Cheney's office and the office of the Defense Secretary—before the war began. Phillips's book is in many ways an account of how Chalabi and the Defense Department wrested the initiative from the State Department and the overwhelming majority of Iraqi exiles without ever coming up with the kind of planning the Future of Iraq Project had done. There is, at least in his telling, the silky adroitness of a Renaissance prince in Chalabi's successful campaign to be the Americans' primary interlocutor when the war began.

The key moment, in Phillips's view, was when President Bush signed National Security Directive 24 giving the Pentagon overall control over even the nonmilitary aspects of postwar Iraq. It established the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), which was in fact the CPA's predecessor, and placed it under the supervision of Douglas Feith, a leading neoconservative in the Defense Department and one of the leading advocates within the Administration for the ouster of Saddam. The institutional turf war, well if bitterly chronicled in *Losing Iraq*, was over. The Defense Department had prevailed over the State Department, even on those humanitarian issues that, through the US Agency for International Development (USAID), State had traditionally controlled. As Phillips puts it, "ORHA was formed to do the job started by the Future of Iraq Project. However, it did not avail itself of previous planning, nor did it make use of those in the State Department knowledgeable about Iraq."

For Phillips, once that decision was made the stage was set for the cascade of errors committed by Bremer and the CPA. Instead of liberation and a fairly quick handover of power to an Iraqi government, which is what Phillips says the Iraqi members of the Future of Iraq Project had assumed would happen after the Baathist regime was defeated, Iraq got an occupation. For Phillips, it was only when the CPA was dissolved and sovereignty returned to Iraqis that what he rather too romantically calls Iraqis' "dreams of democracy" was even salvageable again. That is where the central narrative of his book ends: with the hope that it is not too late.

The contributions both Diamond and Phillips make to understanding what has taken place in Iraq are considerable. But there is a sense in which one of their most important contributions is inadvertent. For both their books illustrate and exemplify the extraordinary consensus about the duty to intervene that has arisen over the course of the post–cold war world. We have not yet *begun* to pay the price for this—not because we do it ineptly but rather because it rarely seems possible except on the far fringes of the political right and left, what with the "historic compromise" between the Bush Administration and the human rights movement over humanitarian intervention, if not over torture, rendition, the Patriot Act and myriad other issues, to have a serious conversation about whether the United States has any business trying to create democracies by force of arms. Instead, the consensus not just of these two writers and activists but of the great and the good from the Kennedy School of Government, to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, to the thirty-eighth floor of the UN, to 10 Downing Street seems to be that we—whether the "we" in question proves to be the United States, the UN or that mythical entity, the international community—must learn to do this sort of thing better, more effectively, perhaps more humanely. It is not only L. Paul Bremer who suffers from hubris. ■

ESSAY

As I Lay Reading

J. M. TYREE

While bookstores and literary supplements were studiously dumbing down their lists of summer book picks, Oprah Winfrey announced that her Book Club would be embarking on an ambitious program called "A Summer of Faulkner." Faulkner? Oprah? Really? The announcement amounted to nothing less than a sneak attack on the whole idea of beach reading—and on the intelligentsia's perception of her as the Queen of Midcult. Not that we should have been that surprised: For some time now, Oprah has been ignoring pleas for a return to contemporary fiction, instead sending the likes of Tolstoy, Steinbeck and García Márquez up the charts. Still, as a sheer challenge, Faulkner is a quantum leap up from other classics.

By proposing to read not one but three works by a dead white male whose prose laid siege to the conventions of narrative fiction, and whose furiously lyrical exploration of race and the American South still manages to unsettle readers, Oprah is taking a major gamble on her audience's attention span and political sensitivities. Once again, she has proved she is a more serious reader than many people—that is, anybody besides her millions of fans—reckoned. The woman *Forbes* magazine recently dubbed the most powerful celebrity in America seems intent on using some of her cultural capital for the brave if improbable purpose of a Faulkner revival—a project that reflects her belief in uplift through education.

The pace of "A Summer of Faulkner" is reasonable enough: *As I Lay Dying* (1930) for June, *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) in July, and *Light in August* (1932) in, yes, August. The choice of titles is another indication that the enterprise is for real, even if the Book Club website might wistfully imagine its readers lounging poolside with the Bundrens and the Compsons. When Oprah introduced her audience to John Steinbeck, it was with the potboiler *East of Eden*. Faulkner, too, had his crowd-pleasing side: He spent a number of drunken years in Hollywood churning out screenplays (with credits on *To Have and Have Not* and *The Big Sleep*); and he published some pulp of his own, such as the notorious 1931 novel *Sanctuary,* about a Southern debutante kidnapped and raped—with a corncob—by a bootlegger named Popeye. (Faulkner later disowned the book, which he wrote when he was hard up for cash.) Yet Oprah has assigned some of the greatest and most difficult of Faulkner's work. Beach reading this is not.

Published between 1929 and 1932, these novels represent the early masterpieces of the pre-Hollywood, pre-Nobel Faulkner, when he was pounding out, at a ferocious, almost inconceivable clip, uncompromising modern art whose distinguishing features were stream of consciousness, the juxtapo-

J.M. Tyree's essays have appeared or are forthcoming in The Believer, Antioch Review, New England Review *and* Created in Darkness by Troubled Americans: The Best of the McSweeney's Humor Category *(Knopf).*

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sition of rarified language and Southern dialect, and multiple narrative perspectives. Now recognized as classics of American literature, these novels initially reached few readers beyond a small circle of intellectuals. As is often the case with American writers, the French were ahead of the curve in appreciating Faulkner's work. When Sartre wrote his 1938 essay on *The Sound and the Fury*, he compared its use of time with Proust's, and later said that young people in France considered Faulkner "a god"—this, at a time when most Americans remained baffled by Faulkner if they even knew his name. According to Jay Parini in his recent biography *One Matchless Time*, Faulkner's own publisher, Horace Liveright, confronted by the early manuscript *Flags in the Dust*, despaired completely. "If the book had plot and structure," Liveright said, "we might suggest shortening and revisions but it is so diffuse that I don't think this would be any use."

Perhaps in an effort to soften the blow that Faulkner's most experimental work has on almost every reader, even today, Oprah has shuffled the chronological order and started with *As I Lay Dying*, the most accessible of the trio. The Book Club encourages readers to form local groups among friends, but those who might feel daunted by, or downright lost in, Faulkner's syntactical backcountry are provided with helpful maps, including a reading calendar, to help structure the experience; character guides; and weekly online video lectures and web Q&As. Faulkner authority Robert Hamblin covers a range of subjects from stream of consciousness to Monet's influence on Faulkner's use of multiple perspectives, while Thadious Davis of the University of Pennsylvania relates him not only to Pound, Joyce and Woolf, but also to *Desperate Housewives.*

These books are difficult, Oprah seems to be saying to her followers, *but you can do this, I will help you, and don't let anyone tell you that you can't*. One hopes she's right, because by mid-July there might be more than a few frustrated readers struggling to keep up with the narrator of the opening chapter of *The Sound and the Fury*, and wondering why on earth he has two different names. Scanning the message boards on the Book Club website, one finds promising signs. Sure, there are skeptics and sourpusses, but there are also exclamation marks and all-caps cheerleading by readers preparing to march out on their lunch breaks and buy Vintage's Faulkner boxed set, embellished with the Oprah seal. Her vision of a bootstrap literary education for the masses might be something of a leap of

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faith. But it's also an admirably American assertion about the democracy of reading, and it appears to be paying off.

At first glance, Faulkner, a writer who offers few consolations of any kind, seems a far cry from the feel-good, self-help issues that all but define Oprah's talk show. He earned a reputation for misogyny, especially among feminist critics, largely because of *Sanctuary*. That said, it's also possible to discern in *As I Lay Dying* a vast empathy for the plight of women trapped in brutal relationships and suffocating social worlds. The novel tells the story of the long funeral journey of Addie Bundren, whose husband, Anse, "wore her out at last." The women in the book spend their time "clinging to some trifling animal to whom they never were more than pack-horses." One character's opinion—"It's a hard life on women, for a fact"—is strikingly contemporary, and certainly amenable to the Oprah ethos. Faulkner does not merely depict strong women like Caddy Compson and Dilsey Gibson; he breathes their words and thinks their thoughts more convincingly than most contemporary male writers.

Faulkner's often-misunderstood approach to race also suggests the boldness of Oprah's decision. Like Mark Twain, Faulkner has long faced charges of racism, both for his frequent use of the word "nigger" (although he has nothing on Quentin Tarantino), and—with more justice—for his politics. After a visit to Faulkner's house, Alice Walker wrote that she felt the place "crushing me." (Winfrey, of course, herself appeared in Steven Spielberg's film of Walker's *The Color Purple*.) In *Notes of a Native Son*, James Baldwin admired Faulkner's work, but he later lambasted his "gradualist" stance on change in the South during desegregation. In 1956 Faulkner gave an outrageous (and drunken) interview in which he said he would, like Robert E. Lee, fight against the United States on behalf of his state even if it meant leaving "the middle road" and "going out into the street and shooting negroes." Although Faulkner later repudiated these remarks, Baldwin's *Partisan Review* essay "Faulkner and Desegregation" presented a powerful case for the prosecution.

In the wake of the controversy, Faulkner published an article in *Ebony* magazine, "If I Were a Negro," in which he urged leaders in the black community to "go slow" on desegregation and to adopt the nonviolent tactics of Gandhian "flexibility" instead of—as he saw it—forcing recalcitrant Southerners into a fight. "Decency, quietness, courtesy" and "dignity" would prevail, while confrontation would only lead to violence. This was, of course, the line of Booker T. Washington, whom Faulkner cited approvingly. Still, it's worth remembering not only that Faulkner was a white Mississippian born in 1897 but that he was ostracized by many Southern whites for making even these small overtures to the civil rights movement.

What's more, in his art Faulkner transcended his own limitations, as Ralph Ellison argued in his 1953 essay "Twentieth Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity." Readers of the Ellison blurb printed on many Faulkner paperbacks—"For all his concern with the South, Faulkner was actually seeking out the nature of man"—may not realize that this is half of a sentence clipped from an essay that is often harshly critical and profoundly ambivalent. Ellison felt the early Faulkner "distorted Negro humanity to fit his personal versions of Southern myth," but that he ultimately "explored perhaps more successfully than anyone else, either white or black, certain forms of Negro humanity." Like Twain, Faulkner considered racism an inescapable fact of American life and therefore a proper subject for an American writer. In

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waging a relentless battle against prejudices that sometimes seduced him, Ellison explained, "he has been more willing perhaps than any other artist to start with the stereotype, accept it as true and then seek out the human truth which it hides."

Today, Ellison's views, and even more generous ones, have largely prevailed. Stanley Crouch, for example, chose Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses* (1942) for his list of "eight great books that get race right." Toni Morrison, whose work would have been very different without Faulkner and whose friendship with Oprah may have influenced this summer's syllabus, praises what she calls his "refusal-to-look-away approach."

This refusal to look away from pain is both what joins Faulkner and Oprah, and what most strikingly divides them. In Faulkner the world is gone wrong, and everything in it is hopelessly broken, whereas Oprah, who is similarly bold in confronting the cruelties of the past, offers the mild remedy of "inspiration," a perpetual procession of heartwarming or heartbreaking personal stories of overcoming fear. Her show is not likely to shift to a Faulknerian perspective on the unmasterable past anytime soon. But she has gone beyond the intellectual limits of the acceptably middlebrow—and of her own show—in openly embracing a writer who is not only highly experimental in his prose but utterly despairing in outlook. And that is little short of astonishing.

Or perhaps not: Oprah's imagination may simply be more supple than the cultural elite imagined—and perhaps more supple than that of the cultural elite when it comes to the expectations placed on the average reader. One can't help but remember Oprah's flap a few years ago with Jonathan Franzen, whose novel *The Corrections* she had anointed Book of the Month. After Franzen expressed discomfort with having "a logo of corporate ownership" on his book jacket in a newspaper interview, Oprah disinvited him from her show, even though he had already flown to Chicago for a taped interview. Franzen was widely painted as a snob and an ingrate, although his wickedly funny essay "Meet Me in St. Louis" makes clear the experience was miserable for him as well. But now, in an improbable turnabout worthy of one of Henry James's hourglass plots, the characters have changed places. While Oprah's Book Club has turned its back on therapeutic contemporary fiction and sprinted directly toward the highest hurdle in American literature, Franzen has been publishing *New Yorker* essays plumbing the depths of Charlie Brown and slaying his literary father, William Gaddis, for being too difficult to read. This summer would be a good time to invite him back on the show, since Franzen shares her love of Faulkner, if not her ability to boost the writer's sales.

The Book Club's implicit trust in the power and accessibility of high culture feels almost subversive in the current publishing climate, as if Oprah were harking back to the days when images of Faulkner, Joyce and Woolf graced the cover of *Time* magazine. At the risk of a certain nostalgia, there was in fact a time when major media outlets assumed that the general public wanted to learn and talk about real ideas, and perhaps Oprah's Book Club is making a subtle suggestion that the pendulum has swung too far to the side of anti-intellectualism. You could read it that way, at any rate.

Everybody agrees that the market for literary fiction has been gradually collapsing over the past few years. Overall net book sales rose by 1.3 percent in 2004, but mainly in nonfiction, and mass-market paperback sales declined by a distressing 8.9 percent, according the Association of American Publishers. Literary editors at the big houses live in fear of these numbers. The temptation to blame the reader must be strong. The Big Five think they merely reflect taste rather than shape it, and pundits add to this bad feedback loop by pandering to a dumber-than-thou audience they help perpetuate, while at the same time lording it over popular culture with snarky reviews.

By reviving the classics, the much-maligned Oprah's Book Club has become a thorn in the side of this blinkered vision of Middle America, holding out the hope that a great many readers are hungry for something more substantial than the usual fare of celebrity and ephemeral sensation. Or maybe they just don't see how their daily dose of daytime television is mutually exclusive with reading the Great American Novel. What publishers have never been able to figure out is how to market the next Faulkner to the same readers who are willing to pick up *The Sound and the Fury* simply because Oprah thinks it's a great read. That's the publishers' own fault, not Oprah's. What's on offer in "A Summer of Faulkner" isn't just a good excuse to get reacquainted with the classics or try *Light in August* for the first time; it's the perpetually relevant tonic of faith in ordinary people. ■

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Willing Executioners

FATIN ABBAS

MACHETE SEASON: The Killers in Rwanda Speak.
By Jean Hatzfeld. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 253 pp. $24.

In his book *When Victims Become Killers*, Mahmood Mamdani observes that what sets the Rwandan genocide apart from most crimes against humanity of the twentieth century, including the Holocaust, is that it was a "popular" genocide. Over the course of three months in 1994, ordinary Hutu civilians—from farmers to teachers to priests—picked up their machetes and proceeded to help exterminate 800,000 Tutsi fellow citizens and their sympathizers, many of whom had been neighbors, friends and in some instances members of their own families. It is this particularly unsettling aspect of the genocide that led one political commissar with the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)—the Tutsi rebel movement that deposed the Hutu government in the capital of Kigali—to remark, "When we captured Kigali, we thought we would face criminals in the state; instead, we faced a criminal population."

Jean Hatzfeld's new book, *Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak*, is an attempt to trace what went on in the minds of this "criminal population." The book revolves around interviews with ten Hutu men serving sentences for participating in the genocide in the region of Nyamata in central Rwanda. Obeying orders given by the local authorities in April 1994, and reinforced by government militias, Nyamata's Hutu men engaged in the daily slaughter of Tutsis, who had fled to the surrounding marshes for shelter. By the end of the killing in mid-May, all but 9,000 of Nyamata's original 59,000 Tutsi inhabitants had been massacred.

Predictably, the killers featured in Hatzfeld's book indulge in a fair amount of evasiveness, tending to minimize their involvement or shift blame onto others. It is to Hatzfeld's credit that he nonetheless manages to elicit some illuminating testimony from them. The book makes clear that the genocide fed off a deeply ingrained and widespread resentment of Tutsis among Rwandan Hutus, a resentment that, in the months leading up to the genocide, was whipped into a murderous fury by the government's ceaseless anti-Tutsi propaganda, much of it broadcast on Hutu radio. Hutu animosity toward Tutsis, as one man explains, is practically imbibed with the mother's milk: "During the dry seasons of early childhood, the Hutu hears grown-ups repeating that Tutsis take up too many plots of land… that those people are too in the way." The roots of this animosity, however, go deeper than the men themselves manage to grasp. As Mamdani and others have shown, anti-Tutsi prejudice can be traced back to Rwanda's colonial days, during which time the ethnicities of "Hutu" and "Tutsi" were transformed by the Belgians into political identities that framed the former as indigenous—and inferior—natives and the latter as alien Hamitic settlers. The tragedy of the Rwandan anticolonial struggle is that, while it succeeded in expelling the Belgians, it left their ideological structures intact—most disastrously the binary opposition of Hutu native versus Tutsi settler.

Still, it is one thing to resent, even to hate, Tutsis, another to kill them systematically. Here is where Hatzfeld's book is most revealing, for it sheds light on an often overlooked or neglected aspect of the genocide—economics. While the killers often insist that the genocide boiled down to a simple choice between killing or being killed, this is only partially true. For once the men began profiting from the genocide—primarily through the cattle, land and property of fleeing or murdered Tutsis—participation clearly evolved into a voluntary activity. Soon enough, as one man states, "we no longer needed encouragement or fines to kill, or even orders or advice." Once the *genocidaires* had set the ball in motion, the extermination project found its own economic momentum.

Ultimately, Hatzfeld's book presents a deeply pessimistic outlook on human morality. Nearly as disturbing as the slaughter that the perpetrators describe is the nonchalance with which they carried it out. Encouraged by the authori-

Fatin Abbas, a former Nation *intern, is a writer on African affairs.*

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ties and by their own self-interest, and believing that they would face no consequences for their actions, the men came to thoroughly dehumanize their victims. The very routine of genocide quickly desensitized them into blithe indifference toward the activity of killing. "In the end," one man remarks matter-of-factly, "a man is like an animal: you give him a whack on the head or the neck, and down he goes."

A decade after the genocide, resentment and hatred continue to fester in Rwanda. "Everyone is obviously sorry," one killer tells Hatzfeld, "but most of the killers are sorry they didn't finish the job." Another volunteers that there are those who are "patiently waiting for the next opportunity." The original resentment and hatred that fed into the genocide are now compounded by the fact that Hutus find themselves at the mercy of the very Tutsis they tried to eliminate. Paul Kagame, the man who led the RPF to victory in 1994, thereby becoming the first Tutsi president of Rwanda, has rightly sought to bring perpetrators of the genocide to justice. But he has also invoked the genocide to suppress legitimate criticisms of his regime. Some of the very Hutus who helped the RPF overthrow Kigali's genocidal government found themselves accused of genocide and bullied into silence once they began objecting to the RPF's despotism. Eleven years after the tragedy, Rwanda, it seems, is stuck between a rock and a hard place. Between a totalitarian Tutsi regime on the one hand, and the potential of another genocidal Hutu one, prospects of moving forward look bleak indeed. ■

FILMS

Alien Nation

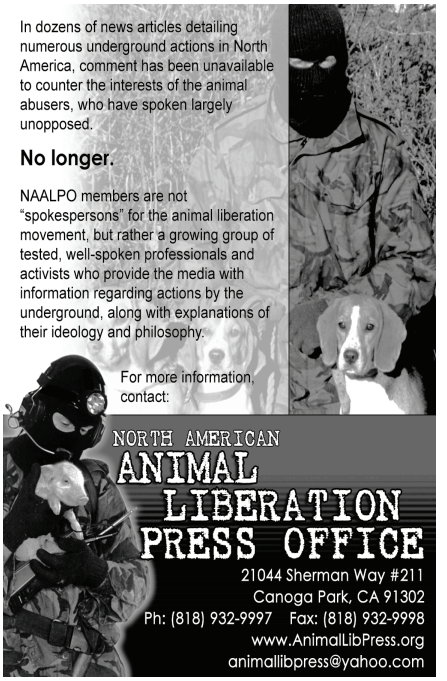
STUART KLAWANS

WAR OF THE WORLDS • DARK WATER • LAND OF THE DEAD

Hidden amid the rubble at the end of *War of the Worlds*, like Bambi squished beneath Godzilla's paw, lie a few words of explanation wrenched from H.G. Wells. In their original version, which included the now-banished term "natural selection," they identified the immune system as the true hero of this story—the immune system, which every day fights off invaders as multitudinous, and as potentially deadly, as a host of Martians. I suppose you'd have to be a socialist to describe our antibodies as Wells did in this passage, calling them a collective inheritance; to valorize their development over the generations, thanks to the struggle of anonymous masses; to proclaim, on behalf of those forebears, our rightful ownership of the world.

Let the socialists in the house take heart. As for the rest of the audience, perhaps one viewer in ten will notice this text's existence in the movie. Maybe one in 10,000 will grasp its point, given the way it's intoned as a quick closing voiceover and so reduced to gibble-gabble. As briskly as Steven Spielberg has torn the initial article from Wells's *The War of the Worlds*, so have he and his screenwriters, Josh Friedman and David Koepp, stripped the story of any larger meaning. Millions now die, and the patient work of civilization is almost obliterated, just so an angry teenager can hug Tom Cruise and call him Dad.

Scoffers will say we can expect nothing more from Hollywood, given that mass-market storytelling in a base genre must always be worthless—though somehow it wasn't, back in 1898. More complacent viewers, meanwhile, will happily discover that Spielberg's *War of the Worlds* is about terrorism. Or, rather, it's about Americans who initially think they're under terrorist attack, though they're wrong, because they're really under foreign occupation, though that must be wrong, too, since it's the Americans who recently have invaded the world's terrorist strongholds, which means that we're our own Martians, or something. No wonder that Tim Robbins seems so confused, planning his futile counterattack; no wonder that every political interpretation of this movie blows apart upon inspection, like flesh struck by an alien death-ray. Spielberg is not without courage; from *Schindler's List*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through *Minority Report*, he's taken risks that deserve respect. But when it suits him to do so, as now, he also knows how to have everything both ways—much as you'd expect from the consummate Hollywood craftsman.

So if we want to think about the meaning of *War of the Worlds*—or, rather, about the meaning it refrains from having—we ought to consider the part of the film that Spielberg cares about the most: the exuberant, stupendous, awe-inspiring exercise of his skill. Forget the bad-boy characterization he elicits from Cruise, and the formulaic family drama. Although these aspects of the movie are more than competent, they matter only because Spielberg integrates them so well into his principal delight, which is to blow things up, on a vast scale, in motion, continuously, for minutes on end. From the working-class neighborhoods of Bayonne, up through the wealthy New Jersey suburbs and on to the Hudson Valley, he makes *War of the Worlds* sweep forward as a single giddy wave of destruction.

This long, long action sequence is only the latest of the many set pieces in which Spielberg has unleashed fury on the world. Think of the massacre of the Krakow Ghetto in *Schindler's List*, the Omaha Beach landing in *Saving Private Ryan*, the tortures of the Middle Passage in *Amistad*, the hate rally in *A.I.: Artificial Intelligence*. These eruptions of violence, which in length and intensity surpass all expectation, are perhaps the most characteristic expression of Spielberg's talent, which now reaches its climax in *War of the Worlds*.

And yet, after he's finally wiped out everything as far as the eye can see, he now stumbles to a halt. It's as if, the tantrum having been spent, he looks around and doesn't know what to do, with half an hour of the movie left to go.

The problem of *War of the Worlds* isn't that Spielberg then gets himself locked interminably in a basement with Tim Robbins, or that the climax he at last stages is both perfunctory and implausible. Those are technical flaws, and so ought to be seen as symptoms in the work of so technically accomplished a filmmaker. The more serious issue they point to, I think, is a shirking of responsibility. After setting loose pure, unmotivated havoc as never before, Spielberg fails to recognize himself as its source: to admit that he likes to set the world on fire and revels in commanding the resources to do so. That's why he can't bear to linger over the aliens' downfall or dwell on its implications. He is his own Martian.

This refusal of self-knowledge may be a private fault in Spielberg, an artistic embarrassment in the movie, but it is something larger and much worse in the country that gave rise to this film. What's left unstated in *War of the Worlds* deserves our attention, because it echoes widely in other, daily silences—the newscasts that don't reckon up the war dead, for example, or the conversations where people won't call incipient fascism by its name.

So where do you go around here for a good, honest horror movie? Try, if you must, *Dark Water*, which puts poor Jennifer Connelly through half a dozen of the scariest trials of modern life: getting divorced, hiring a lawyer, taking a menial job, popping meds with shaky hands, renting a ghastly apartment where the super's a creep and the ceiling leaks blood and (here's the main inconvenience) discovering that your daughter has made friends with the ghost girl who lives upstairs.

With what grim sense of duty, with what somnambulism, does Connelly endure these afflictions! By halfway through the shoot, other actresses might have noticed the oppressive rain effects, the plodding exposition, the turgid pace, and seen how the best of the supporting actors were saving themselves, playing for every laugh they could get; but Connelly slogged on, never once seeking to amuse herself (or her audience) but respecting this soggy nonsense down to its last drip.

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Maybe she behaved herself for the sake of the director, Walter Salles, thinking that the maker of *Central Station* and *The Motorcycle Diaries* must know what he was doing. Now Salles is about to get a much-deserved downgrading of his reputation, and Connelly, in repayment for her professionalism, may soon face career limbo.

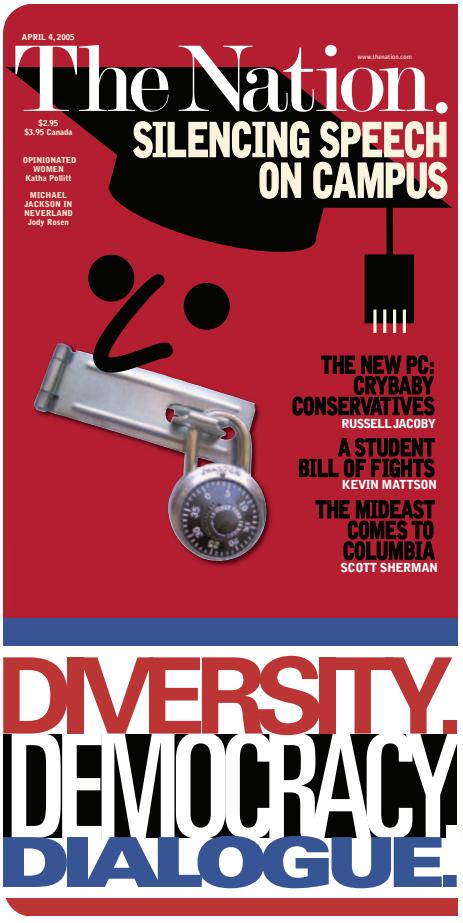
I sigh my way through this report only so I can point out the congruence between *Dark Water* and *War of the Worlds*: In each film, a deeply flawed single parent struggles to protect a child from forces beyond comprehension. Note the "single" part. Cruise plays an abrasive loner; Connelly, a woman shut away in perpetual mourning. Neither seems to have had any social ties, even before the otherworldly came blasting in. I suspect something more than coincidence is at work here, given the very different pedigrees of these films. Investors at powerful corporations—Disney and Viacom—must be guessing that people now feel anxious about the loss of the middle ground between their private homes and the far horizon. When selling us a scary movie, then, the studios want dread to be at once intimate and all-pervasive. This hasn't always been the case: Look at the *Nightmare on Elm Street* series, where the site of horror is the school and the neighborhood, or any of the three versions of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, with their various forms of public space. But *Dark Water* and *War of the Worlds* suggest that people are betting big money on the disappearance of the social world—which is an idea more frightening than both movies combined.

Fortunately, though, George A. Romero has something to say on the subject in *Land of the Dead*—an exhilarating, funny, inventive and truly revolting horror movie, which features no private homes and no families but plenty of social interaction, for the living and dead alike.

In fact, as the picture begins, the dead are doing their best to enjoy an old-fashioned, small-town Saturday night, complete with a brass band in the gazebo—though not a very good band, given the cerebral decomposition. As fans of Romero's *Dead* movies will know, these peaceful-seeming zombies will soon grow hungry and stagger off, searching with mindless persistence for living human flesh. But before they do, into the town roars an outfit of gun-wielding raiders, led by Riley (Simon Baker) and his sad-sack sharpshooter friend Charlie (Robert Joy). Their mission is basically economic: to forage for supplies and bring them back to the last refuge of the living, a fortress city—let's call it Pittsburgh—controlled by an all-purpose realtor, corporate czar and crime boss. This Kaufman (Dennis Hopper) operates from the penthouse of a pricey and widely advertised mixed-use condominium tower. Riley and Charlie, by contrast, live in the slums, which seem to have become more dilapidated in the years since the zombies rose.

Obviously, this premise is more than an excuse for having nasty things jump out of the dark. It gives Romero the basis for constructing a community—two communities, in fact—where interests clash, values compete, loyalties are forged and betrayed and, yes, entrails are eaten. Those members of the audience who demand a gross-out will not be disappointed. The rest of us will prefer to concentrate on the clever double movement in *Land of the Dead*, in which Riley and his team venture out to the zombie-infested sticks, just as a swelling horde of the dead start clomping toward the city, led by a howling, bullet-headed figure (Eugene Clark) who in life had been a gas-station attendant.

He proves to be a worthy opponent for Riley and a far more noble character than



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Kaufman; he has so much more to overcome than either of them, being dead. And his followers, in effect, share in his dignity and pathos, though they're funny, too, with their stiff-legged gaits and workaday costumes, which turn them into a grotesque Pageant of the Trades. Given Romero's casting, each face would be idiosyncratic, even without its graveyard deformations. These zombies remain individuals; yet they have lost their singularity, too, since they no longer function as butcher, cheerleader, pump jockey, nurse. Death has united them in one purpose—and it's not as mindless as you'd expect.

In *Land of the Dead*, America's small-town past comes back as parody, horror and ideal all in one: haunting the modern city, preying on it, showing it an aspiration higher than anything a Kaufman would offer his clients. Food for worms; food for thought. ■

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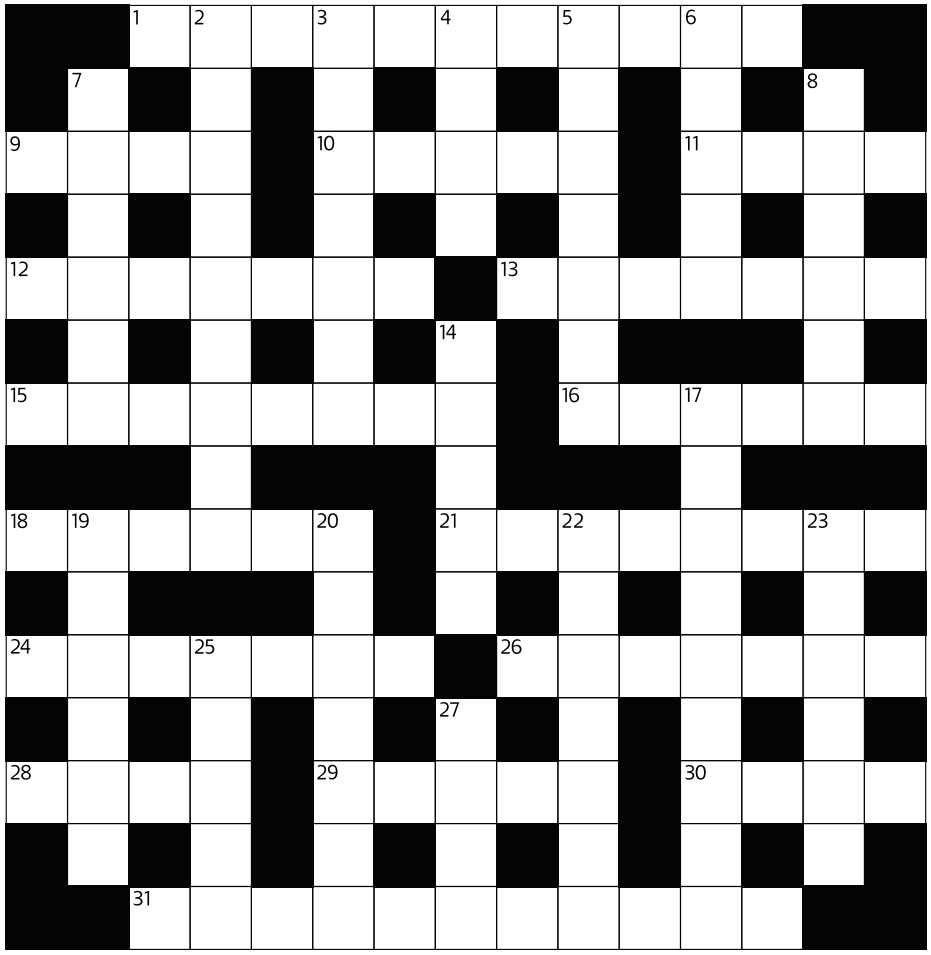

ACROSS

1 Put your faith in Keaton, or perhaps Teddy Roosevelt. (5-6)

9 and **10** Broken hips, for example, which might cause a castaway. (4-5)

11 They might show the way to a return of canned meat. (4)

12 Bob typically shows only half of what you used to get for six bits. (7)

13 See 30

15 Does one edit a paper such as the *Russian Star*? (8)

16 and **23** down A deeply ingrained habit that takes only a short period of time with a well-known mother. (6,6)

18 The GOP's is perhaps only a rumor! (6)

21 Although it's OK, make no mistake—the Japanese find it a hang-up! (8)

24 Little ones are sometimes said to be holy—a tiny beginning with big mistakes! (7)

26 Those that are called out might head for such places. (7)

28 Direction a broken-down horse takes, with some small indication of trouble. (4)

29 What's the point to Henry commonly showing up in the best part of the evening? (5)

30 and **13** A word of warning, of course, at the depot—planting a lot of trees would make it. (11)

31 In any case, a big mistake of Steven—attending every athletic performance. (2,3,6)

DOWN

2 They own something close to the banks, according to a sign on the tombstone, like around a rainstorm. (9)

3 What the tidy housewife did before she brought out the cleaning rags might be associated with the circus. (7)

4 Well—this is what the polite guy might be, but one hears it is what some slangsters call money. (4)

5 A Caribbean island that has a little street going down and up around Carson, for example. (2,5)

6 Otherwise one who is often called a worker brought me up, and came across with it. (5)

7 A collection of words that call for a misplaced seraph. (6)

8 Part of the city gets put incorrectly, but possibly won out in the end. (6)

14 and **27** Having no money leads to anger, and it involves taking your cash by an agent. (9)

17 Could it be a comment made when you appear on your high horse? (4,3,2)

19 In no case, when confused, you could call one of them deep! (6)

20 A Latin American country gal, according to the way you read it. (7)

22 What a joint! You should do this down at work! (7)

23 See 16 across

25 This is never left! Correct? (5)

27 See 14

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2996

■	C	H	O	R	E	O	G	R	A	P	H	E	R	■
C	■	O	■	U	■	G	■	E	■	R	■	P	■	A
I	N	S	O	F	A	R	■	A	S	O	C	I	A	L
R	■	E	■	F	■	E	■	P	■	M	■	C	■	A
C	U	D	D	L	E	S	U	P	■	I	D	E	A	S
U	■	■	■	E	■	S	■	E	■	S	■	N	■	■
L	I	B	I	D	O	■	F	A	L	S	E	T	T	O
A	■	L	■	F	■	R	■	R	■	O	■	E	■	U
R	E	O	P	E	N	E	D	■	D	R	Y	R	O	T
■	■	O	■	A	■	P	■	A	■	Y	■	■	■	W
S	A	D	A	T	■	R	E	S	O	N	A	N	C	E
A	■	B	■	H	■	I	■	H	■	O	■	O	■	A
W	E	A	V	E	R	S	■	C	A	T	E	R	E	R
S	■	T	■	R	■	A	■	A	■	E	■	M	■	S
■	W	H	I	S	T	L	I	N	G	S	W	A	N	■

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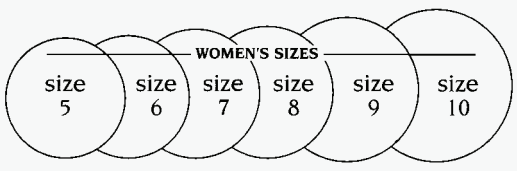

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